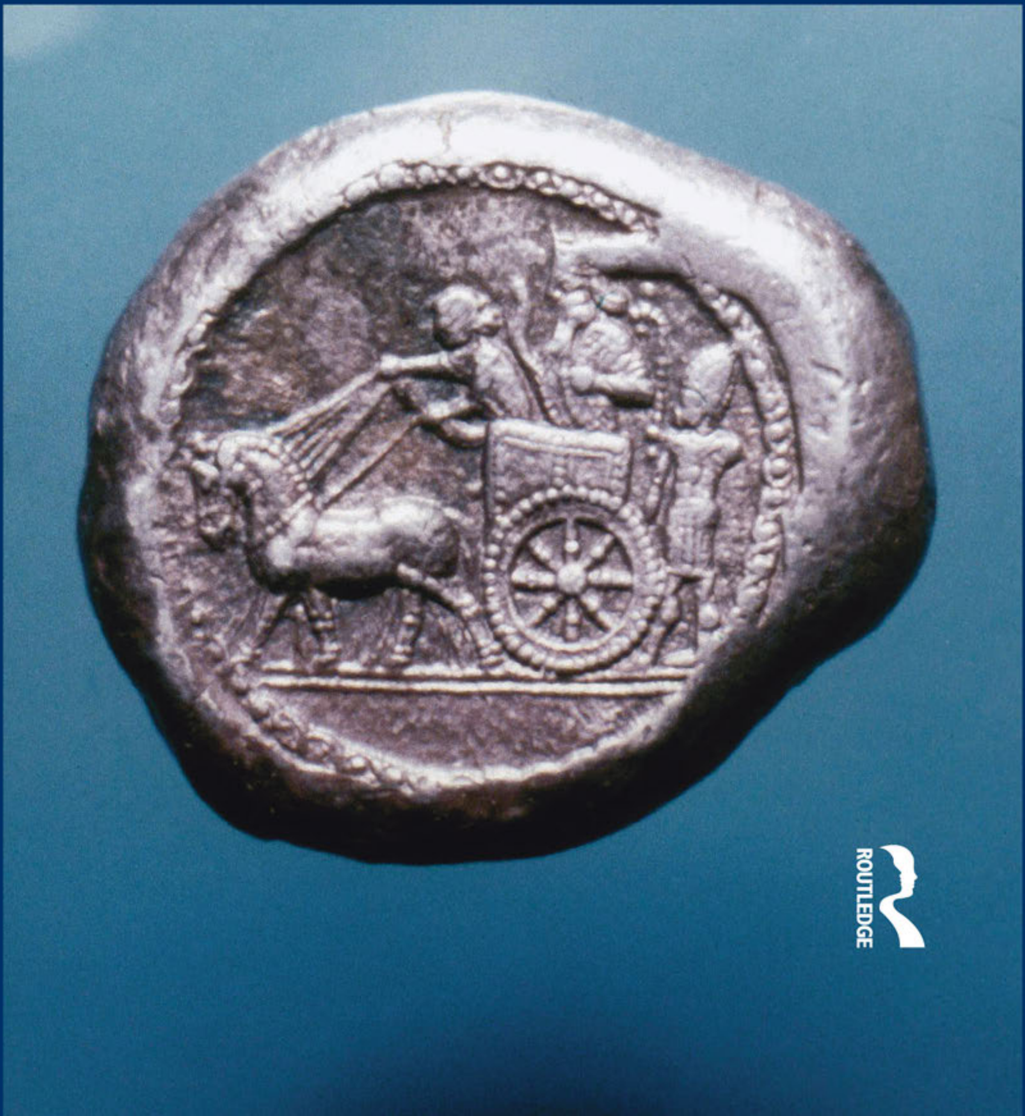
The Social History of Achaemenid Phoenicia

Being a Phoenician, Negotiating Empires

Vadim S. Jigoulov



ROUTLEDGE

The Social History of Achaemenid Phoenicia

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Preface

This book, a revised version of my dissertation written during my studies at the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan, was inspired by my encounter with ancient Greek historians while teaching undergraduates in the Great Books course and a fascination with the ancient Phoenicians, a daring and adventurous people. Their history is the one of negotiating power axes, adapting to changing political and economic climates and, eventually, adopting others' cultural traits that they considered worthy of emulating. Separated from them by time and geography, I found Phoenicians unexpectedly relatable, due, perhaps, to my own transition from one culture to another, from East to West, and from one empire (now failed) to another, in the midst of which I find myself.

With all the humility, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all who supported me throughout the process of writing of this book: Brian Schmidt, for his encouragement and guidance, Margaret Root, for her kindness and wisdom, H. Don Cameron, for his insight, boundless generosity, and unconditional support, Philip Davies and Diana Edelman for invaluable suggestions, and Laura Culbertson, for her keen eyes and a rare ability to critique with grace and respect.

Lastly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my parents, their patience and encouragement, for their support, for the educational opportunities they provided me. To them I dedicate this book.

Vadim Jigoulov
Baltimore, 2010

Introduction

Much debate has taken place in recent years regarding what social history means and how one writes it.[1] The difficulties encountered in the enterprise of writing social history of the ancient world are poignantly encapsulated in the title of a recent collection of essays edited by Aubert and Várhelyi (2005) "A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World." Nevertheless, attempts at constructing social histories have been made; noteworthy in this regard is a social history of ancient Israel by McNutt (1999).

In his overview of the state of the social history field of studies, Kocka (2003: 21) distinguished between two meanings of social history, one as "a specialized sub-discipline concentrating on social structures, processes, and actions in a specific sense (inequality, mobility, classes, strata, ethnicity, gender relations, urbanization, work and life of different types of people, not just elites)," and the other "a specific approach to or way of looking on general history, by stressing broad structures and processes as well as those dimensions of historical reality emphasized by social history in sense."

This monograph, a revised and expanded PhD dissertation defended at the University of Michigan, will embrace primarily the second facet of social history and strive to propose a social history of Persian-period Phoenicia as a conglomerate of independent city-states of the Levantine coast and as an integral part of the Persian empire. This social history will address economic and cultural history of Achaemenid Phoenicia, as well as such manifestations of the cultural sphere of life in Persian-period Phoenician city-states as religion, art, iconography, alongside such indicators of daily life as consumption patterns and preferences. As a method to arrange structurally socio-historical data, this study will examine developments in Phoenician city-states on the three levels: that of the individual household, the city-state, and the administrative unit of the Persian empire. We will analyze these three societal levels within the contexts of economic and political competition between and among the

Phoenician city-states, their burgeoning economic ties with the outside world, and their political standing in the Persian empire. Although not exhaustive and not entirely representative of the complex character of social relations and institutions, these three levels are the ones that the current state of research is able to identify and describe in a sufficient manner.

Additionally, issues of Phoenician identity and ideological overtones in classical and ancient Jewish literary sources regarding Achaemenid Phoenicia will be raised in this monograph, since they often affect our modern concepts of "Phoenicia" and "Phoenicians." Quite often, either in discussions of Phoenician mortuary and burial practices or in evaluating their relations with the Persian empire, we find ourselves repeating and enhancing biases expressed by ancient writers who might have had a proverbial axe to grind with the Phoenicians, for one reason or another.

The evidence for our construct of a social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia comes from the relevant classical, epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological, and ancient Jewish evidence. The source-centered, as opposed to theme-specific, arrangement of this social history is not by chance, as it allows us to deal with each set of available data on its own terms. Sources, as we will demonstrate, often are affected by ideologies and agendas, and addressing many sociohistorical themes without first dealing with the reliability of sources leaves much room for conjecture. We visualize this monograph as a set of transparencies with each chapter providing a certain source-specific snapshot of Achaemenid Phoenicia. When placed on top of each other, we suppose, there will emerge a sociohistorical picture of Achaemenid Phoenicia that is available to us at this stage.

We should point out that disassociating ourselves completely from our own political biases and agendas is nearly impossible. Therefore we have to admit that our politics of reading ancient sources deeply affects the social history that we are striving to write, and our own presuppositions affect the outcome, regardless of any claims of objectivity.

Several studies have contributed substantially to serve as building blocks of such a history.[2] Additionally, our research has benefited from an increasing amount of archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic reports on new discoveries that are being published. Analyses of the broader region of the Levant have allowed scholars to draw parallels and contrasts between Phoenician city-states and other Levantine polities. Furthermore, studies of Phoenicia have been enriched by methodological inquiries of the kind that were not undertaken in the past. A prime example is the work by J. Elayi and Sapin (1998), which partially served as an impetus and

inspiration for this social history. Their call for interdisciplinarity in Transeuphratene studies will be answered in our investigation, as we will strive to apply findings from several disciplines in drawing a social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia. Another positive contributing factor to the study of Persian-period Phoenician city-states is the lively scholarly interest in the social, economic, and political history of the Achaemenid Empire. Without some of the recent contributions (e.g., Root 2000, 2003; Garrison and Root 2001; Briant 2002), a study of the social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia would have had a weak foundation.

In spite of all the positive advances in the field of Phoenician studies, several large problems remain. They can be summarized as follows:

- Many recent studies are isolated and lack interdisciplinarity and integration with broader geopolitical, economic, and political developments in the Levant (e.g., Markoe 2000, where his otherwise excellent art-historical and archaeological observations lack the input of Achaemenid studies).
- Recent scholarly interest in Phoenician western expansion has overshadowed any genuine inquiry into the history of the Phoenician mainland. The need for a renewed focus on the latter is obvious.
- Many studies of Phoenician city-states have largely been characterized by the traditional approaches based on unreflective historical inferences, assumptions, and chronologies frequently derived from ancient Jewish traditions.
- Moreover, the field has been dominated by a handful of scholars, primarily French, whose contributions, although significant and broad, have suffered from lack of interaction not only with the international scholarly community, but also with other crucial related areas of study, including ongoing research into the place and function of the Achaemenid Empire in the wider Levant. The resulting works often tend to lack interdisciplinarity, integration, and regional perspective and context.
- Scholars in the field of Phoenician studies are yet to incorporate the abundant archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic finds from the last decades into a synthesis of a larger social history of the period (e.g., the *Transeuphratène* articles often do not go beyond a simple enumeration of findings).
- The literary representation of Phoenicia by ancient Jewish writers is at times confusing and even contradictory to the picture coming into focus based on archaeological research. Because of this confusion

and contradiction, modern historians have often been influenced by ancient Jewish accounts. A pertinent example is the histories of tenth-century Tyre and Sidon, which are often nothing but an expanded recapitulation of narratives of King Hiram of Tyre (e.g., Mendels 1987; Katzenstein 1997). Ancient Jewish materials, however, clearly indicate an ideological program on the part of biblical writers and redactors to exalt Tyre as a loyal collaborator of the great Israelite kings David and Solomon at the expense of the city of Sidon. On the contrary, we will argue in this monograph that these attitudes reflect the historical situation of the Achaemenid period. Since the Persian period is frequently invoked as one of the two or three most likely candidates for the period in which many of the ancient Jewish traditions were composed or redacted, our observations may contribute to the debate in Israelite history as well.

- The place, position, and influence of Phoenician city-states *within the context* of the Achaemenid Empire is for the most part absent from much of the scholarly literature and should be incorporated into the social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia. Recent advances in Achaemenid studies (e.g., works by Briant, Root, and Garrison, among others) have allowed scholars to speak of the Persian empire as a viable supracontinental entity with a defined administrative structure and political ideology aimed at extolling the Great King among his subject peoples. Taking into consideration these advances, a study of Phoenicia against the Persian background will allow us to contextualize Phoenician city-states within the Achaemenid Empire. As a side benefit, it will also provide a comparative framework against which other Persian subjects can be further analyzed.
- The nature of Persian rule in the Levant needs to be reexamined. The question of whether the Persian-period Phoenician city-states were free to maintain and to develop their economic and cultural agendas or whether they were bound by a hands-on mode of administrative control by a pervasive empire needs further analysis.

In an undertaking of this kind, it is imperative that certain underlying assumptions be spelled out and defined. Firstly, throughout this social history, we will be referring to Phoenician polities as "city-states." As Joffe convincingly demonstrates (2002), both internal organization and imperial administration of the Levantine polities since at least the Late Bronze Age were conducted through the system of city-states. As active participants in

Levantine affairs and being closely related in their material culture to the Levantine city-states, Phoenician city-states fit this model perfectly.[3] Secondly, following traditional convention, we will speak of the "Phoenician" city-states and "Phoenicia," with a full understanding that the constructs are entirely artificial, superimposed upon the individual city-states by classical writers, and in stark contrast to the Levantine model of city-states. The classical concept of "Phoenicia" is an outsiders' view of the polities that were loosely united by the commonality of language and culture. Thirdly, our understanding of some of the major historical events, characters, and sources of the Persian period is based on Briant's seminal work (2002). Although some of Briant's programmatic statements, including his model of a tightly integrated and centrally run empire, are open to discussion and criticism, as a whole this source is sufficiently up-to-date and thorough enough to serve as a starting point for many historical discussions. Fourthly, our iconographical analysis of imagery used on Persian-period Phoenician city-states coinages will be somewhat limited to issues of message conveyance and diagnostics of imperial relationship, rather than extending over the entire fields of Phoenician and Achaemenid iconography and numismatics. Finally, our analysis will be concentrating primarily on classical and Jewish texts rather than on the official royal inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings and representation (or lack thereof) of peoples of Persian-period Phoenician city-states in Achaemenid art. Some of these elements not dealt with in this monograph would be interesting avenues for future research and analysis.

Another factor that impacted this research is the dearth of material culture remains in Phoenicia dated to the Persian period. As Root (1991) has argued, the "politics of meagerness" have too often been invoked in Achaemenid studies and have led to assumptions of the lack of specific Achaemenid cultural values or distinctive art forms. In Phoenician studies, the limited number of Achaemenid artifacts has prompted scholars to construct histories establishing pervasive empire whose every trace has disappeared almost completely. Yet, writing about the western regions of the empire, Root stated:

> This Achaemenid conception of imperial strategy and character may well have contributed significantly to the minimizing of identifiably Achaemenid vestiges of cult paraphernalia and architecture in the western regions. In theory, the Achaemenid kings may have required a low Persian profile from their deputies installed at administrative headquarters in the west. There may have been (in theory) a systematic, centrally ordained policy of assimilation with indigenous elites practiced by Achaemenid officials abroad. Such a

> situation could have resulted in the de-emphasis of conspicuous Persianisms of architecture and even of portable goods in favor of the adaptation of cultural mores and accoutrements of the indigenous people. (Root 1991: 6)

We will be mindful of the issue of meagerness of material-culture artifacts in our analysis of Persian-period Phoenicia.

Finally, we will say a few words about the structure of this monograph. We will dedicate a separate chapter to each of the five configurations of primary data that constitute the basis for our historical knowledge of Achaemenid Phoenicia: classical writings, northwest Semitic inscription, coinage, material cultural artifacts, and ancient Jewish traditions. Each chapter will consist of a comprehensive overview of previous research followed by an analysis and an evaluation of the available primary data – both old and new. The concluding chapter of the study comprises an interpretive analysis in which the available data of the preceding chapters will be brought together for the purpose of constructing an integrated social history of Phoenicia of the Achaemenid era.

Chapter 1

Politics of Reverence and Contempt: Achaemenid Phoenicia in Classical Texts

Classical texts have been the primary source of information about Achaemenid Phoenicia and, by and large, the Persian empire ever since G. Rawlinson (1889) addressed the topic directly in his *History of Phoenicia*. A little over a century later, classical literary works are still widely utilized in historical reconstructions, so much so that they often serve as central sources for Phoenicia.[1] The importance of classical texts for historical research can be accounted for by the fact that they can supply information for the Persian period otherwise inaccessible through archaeology, numismatics, or the largely fragmentary epigraphic evidence. Moreover, since indigenous Phoenician literature dated to the Persian period is lacking, classical literary works provide the only narrative, coherent accounts of Phoenician history of the time. In spite of their seeming thoroughness and level of detail, however, classical texts are only *representations* of historical events and facts, rather than history itself. With this in mind, we will refer to classical texts as "sources" in this chapter, primarily in the sense of compendia of information that more often than not must be evaluated hermeneutically for possible biases and agendas.

In this chapter we will examine classical text sources on their own merits seeking whatever socio-historical information about Achaemenid Phoenicia they can yield. We will begin with an overview of modern research approaches to classical sources on Phoenicia. Next, we will identify and analyze classical texts pertinent to the study of Achaemenid Phoenicia and provide a working synthesis of the socio-political developments there in the sixth–fourth centuries BCE. We hope to demonstrate in this chapter that classical sources would be confusing, unintelligible, and conflicting had it not been for the modern "hermeneutics of suspicion"[2] and the application of methods of ideological criticism to them.

This overview does not claim to be an exhaustive study that takes into account classical materials in their entirety – such a task would be enormous

and unmanageable. Instead, we sample the most important classical sources potentially capable of informing us about Achaemenid Phoenicia. Since classical texts vary in their usefulness for the study of Achaemenid Phoenicia, we will, therefore, divide them into the categories of primary, secondary, and tertiary witnesses. Keeping this in mind and realizing that most classical sources, just as any other historical text, are tainted by bias, we will deem historiographic writings originating from the Persian period (primary) more reliable and informative in their coverage of the most central historical events than Persian-period non-historiographic (secondary) and later period (tertiary) sources. The reason for such a categorization is the fact that secondary and tertiary sources contain much fewer references to Achaemenid Phoenicia, and they are significantly embedded in agendas of the time of writing. Another factor determining the choice of sources and the general direction of this study is the focus on Phoenicia as a participant in the affairs of the Achaemenid Empire. For this reason, the city of Carthage, although connected with the Phoenician home by the virtue of a common cultural heritage, will not receive coverage in this chapter, since it is an entity that had an independent socio-political trajectory in the Achaemenid period. Neither will the island of Cyprus be included, although its relationship with Phoenicia will be addressed in connection with the so-called Fifth satrapy mentioned by Herodotus in *Histories* 3.91.

The importance of classical texts for describing socio-political developments in Achaemenid Phoenicia is unmatched, the very terms "Phoenicia" and "Phoenicians" being constructs of classical literature.[3] Although the Levantine cities of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre appear in a variety of disparate inscriptions, including royal Assyrian and Phoenician inscriptions, the designation "Phoenicia" as a special term for a territory occupied by these cities is entirely external, emerging from Greek classical sources. Most scholars agree that the term Φοινίκη ("Phoenicia") and the related term Φοινίκες ("Phoenicians") were derived from the word φοίνος ("red"). In this sense, the term φοίνος serves to denote an outsider's view of the people from the Eastern Mediterranean coast united by such common features as culture (purple/red dye production) and/or ethnicity (copper-tone skin). Regardless of these common identifying features, the term "Phoenician" as used by the Greeks was rather broad and appeared to include anyone from the Eastern Mediterranean who was somehow involved in trade and travel.[4] This ambiguity notwithstanding, the pervasive nature of Phoenicia as a construct of Greek classical authors has largely predetermined the way modern scholars interpret and reconstruct Phoenician history. Although there are no indications that a "state" of

Phoenicia ever existed, most studies and encyclopedia entries still prefer to list the cities of the Levantine coast under the collective heading "Phoenicia" (e.g., Salles 1996; "Phönizier, Punier" 2000; Oliver 2000). This realization is especially valuable for discussions of ethnicity, especially Phoenician ethnicity. We will not engage in these discussions in a comprehensive manner here; the topic has been raised in many historiographic studies.[5] One proposal that we would like to make is that any study on the subject, if it intends to maintain terminological precision, should first be disassociated from the xenophobic strategy of collectivized identity construction for "Others" of classical texts.

In spite of their importance, classical sources are notoriously difficult to interpret and to use in historical reconstructions, as they are often tendentious and biased, patchy in coverage, and in conflict with other sources. Negative attitudes toward Phoenicia in classical sources arise as a result of the collision of cultures, economic interests, political animosities, and imperial agendas. Furthermore, one can easily surmise that the Greek negativity toward Phoenicians was an extension of their general disdain toward Persians, to whom Phoenicians were related as allies, beneficiaries, and willing vassals.[6] In fact, Additionally, classical writers bring themselves to mention Phoenicia only when it helps them address other subjects, such as the Persian empire, regional wars, and events directly affecting their own homeland, thus providing an incomplete picture of Phoenicia and Phoenicians. Finally, there exists a considerable disjuncture between the way classical sources interpret geography and the political organization of the Levant and Phoenicia and the relevant descriptions in Persian and Babylonian sources. For example, the list of Persian satrapies in Herodotus' *Histories* is remarkably different from official Persian inscriptions and Babylonian texts. Some of the factors to blame for such a disparity are the breakdown of terminology between Persian administrative texts, Babylonian texts, and Greek accounts, and the reliance of Greek authors on sources of varying reliability.[7] Such friction between sources is largely to blame for our inability to delineate precisely the nature of Persian imperial administration of Phoenicia and Persian policies in general. In spite of these difficulties, scholars have proposed several methodologies for approaching classical texts on Phoenicia.

History of Research: A Litany of Methodologies

The study of general historical representations of Phoenicia in classical sources has been characterized for quite some time by the established and

agreed upon cache of ancient sources and their authoritative analyses.[8] Recently, however, historians working on Phoenician history have increasingly come to rely on minor studies that combine purely literary analyses with the findings of archaeology, epigraphy, history of art, and architecture.[9] Moreover, studies of Persian-period Phoenicia in particular have benefited from advances in Achaemenid studies, which, in turn, have brought to the fore the need for a more focused analysis of the classical texts addressing the Persian period directly.

Classical sources dealing with Achaemenid Phoenicia, as with Phoenicia in general, are tremendously diverse and multi-faceted: they belong to a number of genres of literature and they were written in diverse environments and with various ideological agendas. Quite often they address topics that are not directly relevant to Phoenicia but which can be tangentially useful in describing the Achaemenid era, e.g., the nature of Achaemenid rule and interactions between center and periphery within the confines of the Empire. Consequently, scholars have routinely grappled with the problem of categorizing various classical texts dealing with Phoenicia, both from the Achaemenid era and beyond, in a comprehensive manner. To date, genre-based, thematic, chronological, and sociological are the primary classifications, as they have managed to cover a host of literary sources and have allowed for a better understanding of the diachronic development of Greek attitudes toward Phoenicia and Phoenicians in the course of the first millennium BCE.

Genre-Based Approach

In order to sort out the variety of classical sources on Phoenicia (and Carthage!), Lipiński (1992a) divides classical texts into several distinct genre-based literary categories: historiographic documents, tragedies (which in our view could potentially be complemented by comedies as well), poetry and other writings from Homer to Virgil, and "travel" literature (reports of journeys and trips).[10] The apparent goal of such a methodology is to draw finer distinctions between various forms of literature and, consequently, to weigh their historical reliability.

As sensitive to the literary genres as Lipiński's method is, Ribichini (1995: 80) has rightfully criticized it for satisfying only external literary criteria, for genre can serve as a limiting factor in attempts to extricate historical knowledge from sources. Ribichini argues that many sources can possibly provide historical information in a more rich and articulated fashion when they are distanced from the literary genre to which they would be confined by the genre-based categorization. Useful information can also be obtained

from works of the authors who were not primarily interested in the Phoenico-Punic civilization *per se.*[11] Additionally, the genre-based classificatory methodology can be faulted on the grounds that not every text can be assigned a definite category or form. For example, *scholia* (marginal annotations in ancient manuscripts) contain much data to aid in achieving full and exhaustive historical and cultural evaluation, but they have been for the most part ignored by scholars since they are not easily categorized.[12] In spite of these short-comings, the genre-based approach to classical texts addressing Phoenicia has contributed to socio-historical reconstructions of Phoenicia in that it has introduced a finer distinction between those sources that are explicitly intended to be historical and those that are not (e.g., poetry).

Thematic Approach

In addition to the genre-based approach, some scholars[13] have explored and constructed Phoenician history through various themes permeating classical texts. These themes include, but are not limited to, expansion (economic or political), religion and ritual, artisanship, travels and explorations, inventions and discoveries, and language.[14] This methodology has allowed concentration on religious, social, and political phenomena of Phoenician history with more precision. At the same time, whereas some themes, such as wars, trade, and politics, occupied the imagination of Greek and Roman authors, others were almost completely ignored, as Morley (1999: 53–95, esp. p. 63) noted. For example, the inner workings of Phoenician society and economy were the themes almost universally ignored since they were of no interest either to classical authors or their readers. For classical authors, discussions of politics and wars could make much stronger political and moral points than reports on social life. Another potential pitfall of using the theme-based approach to reconstruct Phoenician history is the danger of combining several theme-connected, but otherwise incongruent, testimonies stripped from their original cultural and temporal context with potentially misleading results.

Chronological Approach

Compared to the genre-based and thematic methodologies, the chronological methodology in regard to classical sources has been more successful in tracing diachronic changes in the attitudes of ancient classical authors toward Phoenicia and Phoenicians throughout most of the first millennium BCE. The chronological approach moves much closer to ideological criticism of classical works owing to the fact that without an

understanding of their underlying economic and political undercurrents, classical texts are at times arguably useless for the writing of history.

The chronological approach is exemplified by the work of Mazza (1999), who surveys a wide array of classical sources from the first millennium BCE addressing Phoenicia. On the basis of his research, Mazza concludes that classical sources reveal changing attitudes toward Phoenicians conditioned by a wide scope of economic and political changes. Thus he opines that the *Iliad*, one of the earliest classical works, contains cautious and rather superficial descriptions of the Phoenicians. It appears that the poem of Homer (or whoever wrote the *Iliad*) reflects first encounters of the Greeks with the unknown but developed civilization of Phoenician mariners and craftsmen:

> There lay the elaborately wrought robes, the work of Sidonian
> women, whom Alexandros himself, the godlike, had brought home
> from the land of Sidon, crossing the wide sea, on that journey
> when he brought back also gloriously descended Helen.
> Hekabe lifted out one and took it as gift to Athene,
> that which was the loveliest in design and the largest,
> and shone like a star.
> The *Iliad* 6: 289–95.

> At once the son of Peleus set out prizes for the foot-race:
> a mixing-bowl of silver, a work of art, which held only
> six measures, but for its loveliness it surpasses all others
> on earth by far, since skilled Sidonian craftsmen had wrought it
> well, and Phoenicians carried it over the misty face of the water
> and set it in the harbour, and gave it for a present to Thoas.
> The *Iliad* 23: 740–45.[15]

Yet, as Mazza (1999: 633) notes, already in the *Odyssey* changed attitudes appear toward the Phoenicians as "we come to the historical period which witnessed a widening of the horizon with regard to relations and trading between the Mediterranean peoples." The feelings of animosity toward the Phoenicians increased as the Greeks realized the threat the Phoenicians presented to them in trade and commerce. While it is true that purple-dye making (primarily in Tyre), glass-making (mainly in Sidon), building skills, and navigational mastery were still Phoenician attributes admired by the Greeks, pervasive antagonism and competitiveness begin to permeate the picture of the Phoenicians in the *Odyssey*, which is conditioned by "partiality, preconceived distrust, and hostility."[16] Although the author of the *Odyssey* clearly admires the Phoenicians (e.g., 13: 271–86), the

overarching attitude is that of disdain for their craftiness, conniving nature, and greed:

> … but when in the turning of time the eighth year had befallen me,
> then there came a Phoenician man, well skilled in beguilements,
> a gnawer at others' goods, and many were the hurts he inflicted
> on men, and by his wits talked me over, so I went with him
> to Phoenicia, where lay this man's house and possessions ...
>
> … then he took me on his seafaring ship to Libya,
> with lying advices, that with him we could win a cargo, but in fact
> so he could sell me there and take the immense price for me …
>
> 'There came Phoenician men, famous seafarers, gnawers
> at other men's goods, with countless pretty things stored in their black ship …
>
> The *Odyssey* 14: 287–91, 295–97; 15: 415–16.[17]

According to these passages, a typical Phoenician is "well skilled in beguilements," "a gnawer at others' goods," possessing "lying advices," and "subtle in … talk." These characterizations persisted through time and affected the Phoenician reputation in the centuries that followed.

The Persian period found the Phoenicians in the crossfire between the Athenian and Persian empires, and we may surmise that it was the reported Phoenician support of the latter that precipitated renewed attempts of classical authors to malign them. Increasingly positive attitudes toward the Phoenicians, as Mazza notes, appeared only by the end of the Achaemenid domination and the beginning of the Hellenistic period (the end of the fourth–beginning of the third century BCE). The old tales of "conniving" Phoenicians and Carthaginians returned in Roman times, however, when the Roman Empire strove for dominance in the economic sphere; the Phoenicians became a target of continuous ridicule and mockery. But as the Roman Empire developed and markets were satisfied, and, moreover, direct confrontations with the Phoenicians/Carthaginians ceased, there came about a more balanced description of these alien peoples. In sum, the portrayal of and attitudes toward Phoenicia varied according to such factors as global economics and politics.

Thus, the chronological approach exemplified by Mazza's analysis demonstrates how the image of the Phoenicians in classical sources fluctuated between praise and contempt throughout most of the first millennium BCE. The chronological view of classical materials, although potentially ridden with oversimplifications and generalizations, is nevertheless revealing of widespread attitudes of classical authors toward

the Phoenicians. These attitudes reveal many of the ideological agendas of the authors who were unable or unwilling to move beyond their personal, imperial, or cultural ideologies in describing the inhabitants of the Levantine coast.

Ideological Criticism Approach

Closely connected to the chronological approach to classical sources addressing Phoenicia is the ideological criticism methodology. It seeks to identify common manifestations of ideological and cultural attitudes toward the Phoenicians throughout the first millennium BCE and beyond. Scholars who practice this approach do not focus on the changes in attitude of classical authors but propose that the sentiment toward the Phoenicians had always been suspicious at best; the only thing that might have changed was the justification. Mazza (1988) and Xella (1992a) appear to engage in this kind of criticism, at least in some of their writings. Although neither of these scholars brands his approach "ideological criticism," such a designation, which concentrates on the issues of attitudes toward Phoenicians in classical materials, appears very fitting.

The ideological criticism methodology stresses that classical sources are characterized by two opposing views of the Phoenicians and their culture that were propagated through the centuries. On the one hand, classical texts express admiration for the Phoenician economic and "cultural" influence;[18] on the other hand, they perpetuate a certain systematic denigration and devaluation of this "other" culture, especially evident at times of bitter conflicts between the Phoenicians and the Greco-Roman world.[19] Ribichini notes that in the works of Homer, Herodotus, Diodorus, Pliny the Elder, Strabo and other authors, one can perceive a high regard for the Phoenician contribution to purple-dye making, metallurgy, woodwork, glasswork, the discovery of the alphabet, and commerce. All these achievements, however, fade into insignificance when one considers the pejorative nature of many accounts describing the Phoenicians:

> It [attitude toward the Phoenicians] oscillates between admiration and contempt, unconditional praise for certain gifts and gratuitous abuse, to the point of the most scurrilous accusations. However, this remains within a climate of opinion conditioned from the start by that vein of suspicion and underestimation which the Greeks cultivated towards cultures differing from their own, a product of those peoples whom in any case they defined as "barbarians." (Mazza 1999: 632)

The perception of the Phoenicians as “barbarians” and “the other” in classical literature has been explained in a number of ways. Scholars see the negative attitude toward the Phoenicians in the Greek and later Roman sources as a manifestation of economic competition foremost, which was later replaced by political and cultural competition in the Greek and, then, Roman domains. The Punic expansion did not help alleviate the problem of negative attitudes toward the Phoenicians, either; rather, it substantially aggravated it.

Ideological critics conclude that the derogatory image of the Phoenicians is the one that endured in classical literature, in spite of the praise expressed regarding their maritime and commercial activities. The Phoenicians of classical literature are people of the worst kind: robbers, pirates, liars, abductors of women and children, capable of the worst atrocities.[20]

Interpreting Classical Materials: Toward a More Comprehensive Methodology

The above overview presents several methodologies of classifying classical materials addressing Phoenicia for the purposes of reconstructing Phoenician history. In spite of the progress made in this direction, several problems still loom large in the field, as scholars of classical literature grapple with the heterogeneity of classical texts, the issue of bias, and proper definitions.

Equally unhelpful is the fact that ideologically motivated paradigms of classical authors are perpetuated by modern scholars. As we have already noted, critics often lump together the Phoenician and Punic cultures and see no distinction between the two in classical sources. For example, Mazza quotes Plutarch and Appian describing the Carthaginians negatively and then imposes the same matrix on the Phoenicians:

> In any case, it should be kept in mind that such decidedly negative statements, though made so long after the fall and destruction of Carthage, are among the most explicit expressions of the anti-Phoenician tradition which, with many ups and downs and the evidence of authors both great and small, goes back to the very dawn of Phoenician civilization, and of its relations with the other peoples of the Mediterranean theatre. (Mazza 1999: 631–32)

Whereas there certainly was a wealth of similarities and affinities between the two cultures, the methodological mistake of equating them does nothing to contribute to a precise picture of the Phoenicians in classical sources. Although the Phoenician heritage of the Carthaginians has not been and should not be forgotten (see Virgil’s *Aeneid* and its multiple

allusions to Dido's Phoenician past), Carthage became an empire in its own right with its identifiable national character. At the same time, the equation between the two cultures perpetuated by modern scholars is nothing more than a repetition and continuation of the attitudes inherited from classical authors who did not make such distinctions for ideological reasons.

Similarly, scholars often tend to look at the cities of the Lebanese coast as a homogeneous, self-contained political unit. The element of separation and distinction among several city-states is largely absent in scholarly literature, although it is explicitly present in classical literature. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, Phoenicia for classical authors was first and foremost a territorial unit populated with people united by a common cultural and religious heritage but who were never united into a political unity such as a state.

Before we move on to analyzing the texts that deal directly with Achaemenid Phoenicia, several preliminary observations should be made regarding the methodology that will govern such an overview. Firstly, we will make distinctions between genres since historiographic documents such as Herodotus' *Histories* should not be lumped together, for example, with Euripides' *The Phoenician Women*. The two sources have unique agendas that were expressed by a differing set of linguistic and artistic criteria. Secondly, we will question the nature of sources that authors from the Persian period utilized in their writings. The issue of credibility of classical authors lurks in the background of our research, since their accounts often draw on sources that are lost or without definite provenance. Moreover, the fact that we possess only about 5% of the literature that might have existed precludes us from making judgments that are too broad or too categorical.[21] Thirdly, the selectivity of coverage noted by J. Elayi and Sapin (1998: 97) is yet another peculiarity of classical texts from the Persian period that should be considered. The abundance of information regarding most of the peoples of the Levantine coast with whom the Greeks conducted trade is combined with and exacerbated by the deafening silence regarding several important issues of specific interest to contemporary scholars. A clear example is the lack of coverage of the hinterland and its population by classical authors. J. Elayi and Sapin (1998: 97) suggest that the reason why the hinterland populations were not mentioned in the extant literary sources is because the Greeks simply did not come across these populations on the trade routes or in the ports of the Aegean and the Levant. This lack of information significantly limits our ability to make historical reconstructions of the lands situated inland from the coastline.

The fourth element of the present methodology is awareness of the diachronic change in the way classical authors addressed Phoenicians. Kuhrt (1987) has noted that Greek interests were concentrated mainly on the Median wars between the Greeks and the Persians. As a result of such specialized interest, Greek authors conducted comparative analyses of the customs of the Persian empire only in order to show the superiority of the corresponding Greek customs and institutions (e.g., see the works of the famous triad of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon). These interests were not static, however, since Greek curiosity about the Persian empire and its territories and peoples in the fifth century was replaced in the fourth century by a set view that placed a higher value on a more precise knowledge of historical details.[22]

Fifthly, the constant awareness of the political agendas present in classical works constitutes part of this methodology. As classical authors addressed Phoenicia, they could not help revealing agendas and politics of the day.

Finally, classical sources have been given considerable credibility in reconstructions of Phoenicia in part by the *Hellenocentric* vision of antiquity, noted by J. Elayi and Sapin (1998: 29, 98), which is manifested by the preeminence of literary models based on the Greco-Roman civilizations when scholars discuss Phoenician and Punic literatures.[23] This viewpoint must be kept in mind while assessing modern scholarly contributions and reconstructions of Phoenicia. As Briant observed, "it is sometimes not so much the sources themselves as the ability of the historians to ask questions that is threatened by exhaustion."[24] The questions that we will ask of the sources in this study concern the nature of the relationship of the Phoenician city-states to the Achaemenid Empire, the degree of independence that ancient sources attribute to separate cities of the Levantine coast, and indications of a possible change in status of Phoenician city-states in the Achaemenid empire.

Primary Classical Sources for Achamenid Phoenicia

Only a handful of sources emerge as primary for reconstructions of Achaemenid Phoenicia. Among them, documents of historiographic nature dated to the Persian period stand out as central for reconstructing a system of socio-political interactions of the cities of the Levantine coast in the Persian period.[25] The most important of them for our study are the works by two Persian-period historians, Herodotus and Xenophon, who lived in chronological proximity to the Persian period and whose

descriptions of the main events of the Achaemenid period are generally accepted as the best representations we currently have.

Achaemenid Phoenicia according to Herodotus' Histories

Most of our information about the Phoenicians during the Persian period comes from Herodotus of Halicarnassus (*ca.* 484–*ca.* 425 BCE; for these dates see Gould 1996: 696), who provided an irreplaceable account of the Persian Wars in his *Histories*. The date of Herodotus' account is uncertain but there are indications that it was known in Athens already in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE when portions of it were parodied in performances of Aeschylus' plays written sometime before his death in *ca.* 456–455 BCE.[26] Although the veracity of some of the information provided by Herodotus has been challenged,[27] his account is fairly consistent with accounts of other classical writers.

Generally, the Phoenicians of Herodotus' *Histories* are skillful merchants and mariners (*Histories* 3.107, 3.111), who at one point even circumnavigated Africa (*Histories* 4.42). Herodotus' biased approach, however, is evident from the first pages of his *Histories,* in which he invokes the old myth according to which the Phoenicians were responsible for the dispute between the Persians and the Greeks (*Histories* 1.1). Additionally, Herodotus claims that "the learned men" (οἱ λόγιοι)[28] of Persia were the ones who blamed the Phoenicians for the conflict between the Greeks and the barbarians.[29] Thus, from the very beginning, Herodotus lays blame on the Phoenicians for the conflict that is central to his inquiry. The ideological motivation for such a portrayal most certainly lies in the fact that the Phoenicians were actively involved in assisting the Persians during the Cypriot (*Histories* 5.108, 5.112) and Ionian revolts (*Histories* 6.6, 6.14, 6.25, 6.28) and were otherwise very loyal to the Persians.[30] Accordingly, the conflict between the Athenian and Persian empires affected Herodotus' perception and description of the Phoenicians. The dichotomy between the Greeks and barbarians is likewise evident in Herodotus' account, although he also resorts to criticizing Greek institutions from the point of view of "barbarians."[31]

Phoenicia: The Land of the Phoenicians?

Although Herodotus frequently uses the word "Phoenicians" to refer to the people inhabiting "Phoenicia," it is not always clear what he means by these two terms. These two Herodotean notions deserve a closer examination.

According to Herodotus, several city-kingdoms comprised the land of Phoenicia. One of these cities was Tyre, which Herodotus mentioned several times (e.g., *Histories* 1.2, 2.44, 2.49), most notably in connection with its naval battle with Apries, Pharaoh of Egypt, who reigned *ca.* 589–570 BCE (*Histories* 2.161). Sidon, also deemed a Phoenician city (e.g., see *Histories* 3.136), receives considerably more attention, both through neutral descriptions and through contemptuous portrayals of her power and influence in Mediterranean affairs. Sidon in the *Histories* is the city where Paris brought Helen briefly as he was making his way home to Troy (*Histories* 2.116). It is also one of the cities against which Pharaoh Apries sent an army (*Histories* 2.161).

Primarily, though, "the Phoenicians of Sidon" are noted for the quality of their ships and their maritime and military skills (e.g. see *Histories* 7.44 and 7.96). In one case (*Histories* 7.44), Herodotus reports the Sidonians winning a rowing match at Abydos. In another instance (*Histories* 7.96), Sidonian ships are noted as being the fastest among those carrying "Persians, Medes, or Sacae." Moreover, Herodotus mentions the Persian King favoring the King of Sidon over the King of Tyre and other "tyrants of states and commanders of squadrons" (*Histories* 8.67) during Xerxes' visit to his troops at Phalerum.[32] The King of Sidon received the highest honor from Xerxes among all other kings, probably due to the military might of his troops, as some interpreters suggest.[33] According to Herodotus, starting with the reign of Xerxes, Sidon, the preeminent Phoenician city-state, appears to be given special honor and privileges by the Great King, privileges that are given neither to other Phoenician city-states nor to any other polity prior to Xerxes' reign, for that matter.

Several conclusions regarding the homogeneity of the Phoenicians can be drawn based on the distinctions Herodotus makes between them and the neighboring peoples. Herodotus uses the term "Phoenicians" alongside the term "the Palestine Syrians" (Παλαιστίνη Συρίῃ), clearly distinguishing between the two (see *Histories* 1.105, 2.104, 3.91, 4.39; How 1961: 256–57). He also differentiates between the lands occupied by them (e.g., *Histories* 3.91). Herodotus describes Palestine as part of Syria that extended southward of Phoenicia "as far as Egypt" (see *Histories* 3.91), although it is unclear what Herodotus considered to be the southern border of Phoenicia.[34] Moreover, Herodotus considered the Phoenicians to comprise one cultural, if not ethnic, entity that occupied the territory named after them. Originating in different city-states, the Phoenician

people were yet culturally homogeneous, united, according to Herodotus, by their proclivity for trade.

Consequently, Phoenicia for Herodotus was neither a state nor a precise territory with clearly defined borders. Phoenicia was a land inhabited by Phoenicians. As simple as this conclusion sounds, its realization is crucial to any further assessment of the land labeled "Phoenicia." As will be demonstrated shortly, Herodotus' concept of peoples inhabiting the coastal Levant affected his description of Darius' administrative reform.

Administration of Phoenicia According to Herodotus

If the division above is representative, even if only in larger details, of the actual administrative makeup of Achaemenid West Asia, what then does Herodotus say regarding the political administration of these territories? It appears that Herodotus, whether consciously or by chance, distinguishes among different phases in the Persian administration of Phoenicia. Herodotus indicates that at the time of Cyrus "the Phoenicians were not yet subject to Persia" (*Histories* 1.143). He indicates, however, that as time progressed and as Cambyses came onto the political scene, the Phoenicians willingly surrendered to the Persian King, and his fleet was largely dependent on their naval prowess (*Histories* 3.19). Later, we read about the division of the Persian empire at the time of Darius into twenty satrapies (σατραπίας) (*Histories* 3.90–94; see Table 1.1).

The latter passage is foundational for the reconstruction of the system of Persian imperial administration, although in addition to the lack of information about the sources that Herodotus used,[35] the passage presents several other problems.

One of them is the overbearing Greek ethnocentricity of the list, manifested in the way Herodotus organized the list geographically starting with the Ionian districts. Calmeyer (1990: 114, 24–25, Fig. 1) has suggested that the list of satrapies resembles Homer's *Catalog of Ships* in the *Iliad* 2.494–760 and that there is no reason to assume that Herodotus tried to imitate Persian inscriptions by using the "magical" number 20.

Another problem, closely related to the Hellenized character of the list, is its occasional incongruence with Persian inscriptions containing lists of subjugated nations (e.g., DB, DPe, DSe, DNa, DSaa, XPh),[36] proper satrapy lists (e.g., the Behistun Inscription), and images of peoples found on the reliefs at Persepolis (Table 1.2).[37]

It should be noted that royal Persian inscriptions do not mention "Phoenicia," and it is not clear what the Achaemenid notion of Phoenician city-states was and whether they were subsumed under some other

Table 1.1. Satrapies and tribute according to Herodotus' *Histories* 3.90–94

Nome	*Peoples*	*Tribute in talents*	*Additional considerations*
I	Ionians, Magnesians in Asia, Aeolians, Lycians, Milyans, Pamphylians	400	
II	Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, Hytennians	500	
III	[Hellespontine] Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Syrians	360	
IV	Cilicians	500	360 white horses
V	From Posideium to Egypt (Arabs exempted)	350	
VI	Egypt, adjacent Lybians, Cyrene, Barca	700	Income from the fish of Lake Moeris + 120,000 *medimnes* of wheat for the Persian garrison at Memphis
VII	Sattagydians, Gandharans, Dadicae, Aparytae	170	
VIII	Susa and the country of the Cissians	300	
IX	Babylonia and the rest of Assyria	1000	500 young eunuchs
X	Ecbatana, the rest of Media, Paricanians, Orthokorybantes	450	
XI	Caspians, Pausicae, Pantimathi, Daritae	200	
XII	Bactrians and … (?)	360	
XIII	Pactyans, Armenians, and neighboring peoples as far as the Pontus Euxinus	400	
XIV	Sagartians, Sangians, Thamanaeans, Utians, Myci, and inhabitants of the Erythrean Sea	600	
XV	Saka and Caspians	250	
XVI	Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Arians	300	
XVII	Paricanians, Ethiopians of Asia	400	
XVIII	Matieni, Saspites, Alarodians	200	
XIX	Moschians, Tibarenians, Macrones, Mossynoeci, Mares	300	
XX	Indians	360	

Source: Briant (2002: 391). Reprinted with permission of Eisenbrauns.

Table 1.2. Subjects of the Great King according to Persian royal inscriptions

Db	*DPe*	*DSe*	*DNa*	*DSaa*	*XPh*
Persia		Media	Media	Persia	Media
Elam	**Elam**	Elam	Elam	Elam	Elam
Babylonia		Babylonia	Parthia	Media	Arachosia
Assyria	Media	Aria	Aria	Babylonia	Armenia
Arabia	Babylonia	Bactria	Bactria	Assyria	Drangiana
Egypt	Arabia	Sogdiana	Sogdiana	Arabia	Parthia
Sealand	Assyria	Chorasmia	Chorasmia	Egypt	Aria
Sardis	Egypt	Drangiana	Drangiana	Sealand	Bactria
Ionia	Armenia	Arachosia	Arachosia	Sardis	Sogdiana
dia	Cappadocia	Sattagydia	Sattagydia	Ionia	Chorasmia
Armenia	Sardis	Makran	Gandhara	Armenia	Babylonia
Cappadocia	Ionia	Gandhara	Induš	Cappadocia	Assyria
Parthia	Ionians	Induš	Saka H.	Parthia	Sattagydia
Drangiana	Sagartia	Saka H.	Saka T.	Drangiana	Sardis
Aria	Parthia	Saka T.	Babylonia	Aria	Egypt
Chorasmia	Drangiana	Babylonia	Assyria	Chorasmia	Ionians
Bactria	Aria	Assyria	Arabia	Bactria	Sealand
Sogdiana	Bactria	Arabia	Egypt	Sogdiana	Across the sea
Gandhara	Sogdiana	Egypt	Armenia	Gandhara	Makans
Saka	Chorasmia	Armenia	Cappadocia	Saka	Arabia
Sattagydia	Sattagydia	Cappadocia	Sardis	Sattagydia	Gandhara
Arachosia	Arachosia	Sardis	Ionia	Arachosia	Induš
Makran	Induš	Ionia	Saka E.	Quadia	Cappadocia
	Gandhara	Saka E.	Thrace		Dahae
	Saka	Thracians	Ionians P.		Saka H.
	Makran	Ionians E.	Libya		Saka T.
		Carians	Ethiopia		Skudra
			Makran		Akaufakans
			Carians		Libyans
					Carians
					Ethiopians
23	24	27	29	23	31

Source: Briant (2002: 173). Reprinted with permission of Eisenbrauns.

administrative division ("Babylonia" or "Assyria"). For example, the Behistun Inscription of Darius mentions only Babylonia and Assyria as "the countries" that Darius subjugated in the Levant (DB §6 1.12–7, 17–20; Kent 1953: 119). The same Achaemenid imperial concept persisted until the time of Xerxes; the inscription of Xerxes at Persepolis XPh also mentions Babylonia and Assyria but no Phoenicia (XPh §3.13–28; Kent 1953: 151). Also unclear is how Phoenician city-states were visualized or

submerged in imperial displays of peoples.[38] It is quite possible, however, that the entire problem of the lack of correspondence between the Herodotus' list and Persian inscriptions is exaggerated. As Briant poignantly notes (2002: 391), the comparison between Herodotus and the official Persian documents and images depicting subjugated nations is inappropriate as they represent two different concepts. Any document or image from the central administration would present an ideological construct of power, whereas Herodotus is more interested in the description of Persian political organization.

Finally, it is unclear to which historical period Herodotus' description corresponds, as it is comparable neither to the early years of the reign of Darius nor to the list of satrapies from the time of Alexander.[39] The list of satrapies in Herodotus could possibly be dated to the reign of Xerxes I, closer to the time when Herodotus was putting together his information. Moreover, evidence from the later Persian period indicates that the Empire was divided into satrapal districts and tribute districts;[40] this distinction could not have been apparent to Herodotus and he never reflects it in any sufficient manner.

In spite of the aforementioned problems, we still agree with Briant (2002: 393), who states that "we do not possess documentation that could systematically prove Herodotus wrong," and, therefore, Herodotus' information should be treated as generally reliable from a historical point

Table 1.3. Herodotus' list of satrapies correlated with Greek, Babylonian, and Persepolis sources

Satrap	*Date*	*Residence*	*Herodotus' Nome*
Mitrobates	525?	Dascylium	III
Oroetes	+521	Sardis and Magnesia	I and II?
Gubāru	522–	Babylonia and Trans-Euphrates	
Uštānu	535–525		V and IX
Suta[...]	521–516	Egypt and Cyrenaica	
Aryandes	486	Susa	VI
Bakabana	525–510?	Bactra	VIII
Dādarði	500–499		
Irdabanuš	522	Arachosia	
Vivāna	500	Kandahâr	XVII?
Bakabaduš	522	Aria	–
Harbamišša	494	Ecbatana	XVI (in part)
Miturna (Hydarnes)	–		
	503–499		X

Source: Briant 2002: 392. Reprinted with permission of Eisenbraus.

of view. Furthermore, although no lists of satrapies predate the death of Alexander, the correlated list based on the Greek texts, documents from Babylon, and Persepolis tablets reveals the considerable accuracy of the list in *Histories* 3.90–94 (see Table 1.3).

In this passage, Herodotus tells us that Darius determined the boundaries of each district for the purposes of tribute by combining several neighboring nations (*κατὰ εθνεὰ*) into a single unit (*Histories* 3.89). For the purposes of tribute-collecting, each conglomerate of peoples, a satrapy, was responsible for a particular sum (*Histories* 3.90). Thus, each satrapy was composed of several peoples who were joined together for the purposes of tribute-paying. In this sense, Herodotus' usage of the term *ethnos* is closely related to the Persian term *dahyu* found in Persian inscriptions (Briant 2002: 393).[41] Both words stand for both territories and the peoples inhabiting them. Consequently, the list of satrapies in *Histories* 3.90–94 emerges as a tendentious, Greek-centered, at times ambiguous and unclear but generally viable breakdown of the Persian empire into satrapies sometime between the reigns of Darius and Xerxes.

As for Phoenicia, it is included with Palestine and Cyprus in the Fifth satrapy (*Histories* 3.91):

> The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the *Arabians*, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and *Syrian* border by *Amphilochus* son of *Amphiaraus*, and *Egypt*; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in this province was all Phoenicia, and the part of *Syria* called *Palestine*, and *Cyprus*. (Translation by Godley 1920)

Recently, this passage has been at the center of scholarly attention as there are uncertainties and ambiguities therein that interfere with reconstructions of the political setup in the Persian period of both the province of "Beyond the River" and Phoenicia.[42]

One problem with the passage noted by scholars is the relationship of the Fifth satrapy (province) to the Ninth satrapy, which includes "Babylonia and the rest of Assyria" according to *Histories* 3.92. Stern (2001: 367) proposes that during the reign of Cyrus, Babylon and the former Neo-Babylonian administrative unit Beyond the River were reorganized into one gigantic province also called Beyond the River, whose central seat was in Babylon. If Stern's proposal is accepted, then it is easier to explain Herodotus' differentiation between the Fifth and Ninth satrapies. When Darius came to power, he reorganized his empire, converting Babylon into a separate satrapy (no. 9), while including in the satrapy Beyond the River (no. 5) Phoenicia, Palestine, and Cyprus (*Histories* 3: 91).[43]

The second issue concerns the makeup of the Fifth satrapy itself. Scholars have pointed out that it is the only Persian province with clearly defined geographical borders.[44] Herodotus notes that the northern border of the Fifth satrapy was the town of Posideion on the border of Cilicia. Phoenicia did not border on Cilicia directly, since there was a segment of the Mediterranean coast that was considered Syrian but not Phoenician.[45] So, from Herodotus' account we can assume that Phoenicia, as a land inhabited by the Phoenicians, was included within Syria (cf. *Histories* 2.116). As for Palestine, we have observed elsewhere in Herodotus (*Histories* 1.105, 2.104, 3.91, 4.39) that it was regarded as part of Syria, that it lay to the south of Phoenicia, and that it extended as far south as Egypt. If we accept that the lands composing the Fifth satrapy stand for the corresponding *ethnos-groups*, then Herodotus distinguishes between the Phoenicians and Palestinians as separate *ethnos-groups*. A question arises as to what, then, are the criteria that allow Herodotus to include Cyprus in the Fifth satrapy?

Phoenicia and Cyprus: Regarding the Fifth Satrapy of Herodotus

The question of the relationship between Phoenicia and Cyprus is crucial for discussing Achaemenid Phoenicia, since scholars of Phoenicia oscillate between including Cyprus in Phoenician studies and ignoring it altogether. Older reconstructions, primarily based on Herodotus and other classical sources, frequently placed Cyprus under the command of the Phoenicians who, in their turn, were loyal subjects of the Persians. Gjerstad (1948: 484–85) famously wrote:

> We know very little of the history of Cyprus during that period [sixth–fourth centuries BCE], but the Cypro-Greek cities were reduced to a state of political nullity, and Persia was determined to eradicate the last survival of philhellene mentality ... The alliance of Persians and Phoenicians against the Cypro-Greek cities ... was intensified and developed into a systematic action intended to turn Cyprus into a Persian country administered by Phoenicians.

According to this and similar reconstructions, Cyprus voluntarily submitted to the Persians in 545 BCE. Catling (1996: 420) has noted that as part of the territory subjugated to the Persian empire, Cyprus participated on the Persian side in the Carian war, the conquest of Babylon, and in the attack on Egypt in 525 BCE. Cyprus, however, evidenced a desire for independence by joining the Ionian revolt against the Persians (499–494 BCE) that ended in the devastation of Cypriot towns. Throughout the course of the first half of the fifth century Athenians and Persians fought for the domination of Cyprus, until the island finally passed under stronger Persian control in the late fifth-early fourth centuries BCE.[46]

This historical picture, emerging primarily from classical sources, has been called into question.[47] Although material remains in Cyprus lack homogeneity, archaeology has allowed greater delineation between various parts of the island. A preliminary conclusion shared by the majority of scholars indicates strong influence in Cyprus from the Iron Age on of both the Levantine mainland and Ionian Greece.[48] Thus, the excavations at Kition Bamboula, a site with the most characteristic Phoenician artifacts, have uncovered three main building phases attributed to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, indicating lively construction activity at the site.[49] Scholars, however, have also noted strong Ionian influences in architecture and sculpture, both in stone and terracotta, at other sites on Cyprus dated to the same period,[50] as well as observed that Greek influence was most pronounced in Cyprus beginning sometime in the fifth century BCE.[51] Therefore, the archaeological evidence from Cyprus shows both Phoenician and Ionian influence in the Persian period.

Besides archaeological evidence, the Phoenician presence on Cyprus in the fifth century BCE is supported by the testimony of classical sources (e.g., see Isocrates' *Evagoras* 19–21; 26; 47; 62; 66–67). At the same time, findings of literary studies demonstrate concerted and consistent efforts by Greek writers of the Persian period to incorporate Cyprus into the Greek metaphysical and conceptual world. At the time when antagonism between Greeks and Persians was at an all-time high, there appeared many references to Cyprus in Greek literature.[52]

Greek tragedy writers emerged at the forefront of establishing and exploring several mythological traditions connecting Cyprus to Greece. For example, Aeschylus in his play *The Persians* connects the Greek city of Salamis with Salamis on Cyprus (*The Persians* 894–96), in order to emphasize the ancient roots of the latter: "Salamis, whose mother-city is now the cause of our lament."[53] It is likely that such legends were used by the Athenian propaganda machine of the fifth century in order to emphasize the privileged and ancient character of contacts between Athens and Cyprus. The reason for this process was both to support Cyprus' quest for independence from the Persians and to affirm the legitimacy of Athens' political ambitions aimed at overturning Persian military hegemony.

In such a political climate, Herodotus' claims that Cyprus belonged with Phoenicia in the same satrapy appear insufficiently nuanced at best. Even if Phoenician domination was widespread on the island, it does not appear to have been all encompassing, since there were city-kingdoms that were either independent or solidly pro-Athenian (e.g., Salamis). Herodotus possibly included Cyprus together with Phoenicia based solely on his

knowledge of the cultural and ethnic proximity of several sites on Cyprus, such as Kition and Idalion, with the Phoenician mainland. In support of this hypothesis we may note that Cyprus does not appear aligned with Phoenicia in any of the official Persian documents or imperial images.[54] As Muhly (1997: 95) has noted, the island appears to have been divided into two camps, a pro-Persian one and a pro-Greek one. Any Phoenician domination of Cyprus or its membership in an administrative unit was a mere formality recorded as a general note by Herodotus. Consequently, at our present state of knowledge, Cypriot studies should be excluded from the study of Achaemenid Phoenicia as Persian imperial connections between the two are unclear and based on associations that are more historically cultural in nature than political and administrative.

Achaemenid Phoenicia According to Xenophon

Some of the ambiguities of Herodotus' *Histories* can potentially be clarified by the works of Xenophon.[55] A renowned philosopher and a leader of Greek mercenaries at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BCE, Xenophon in his *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia* addresses the administrative setup of the Persian empire. In the past, both works were largely overlooked as they were merely used as essential texts for learners of Attic Greek, as Dillery (1998: 1) noted. With the growing interest in the Persian empire, however, the *Anabasis* has become one of the central sources of first-hand information concerning the Empire and its subjects.

The Anabasis and Cyropaedia

As a semi-biographical work, the *Anabasis* (in Greek, literally "ascent") preserves an account of Cyrus the Younger's rebellion against his brother Artaxerxes II in 401 BCE, with special attention paid to the fate of his Greek mercenaries and to Xenophon's role in the events. As Tuplin (1996: 1629) has pointed out, the *Anabasis* is marked by "apologia and self-advertisement" and is greatly affected by a sense of Greek superiority over the barbarians, the theme frequently appearing in Herodotus' *Histories*. In spite of its ideological agenda and stance, Xenophon's *Anabasis* informs us of the inner workings of the Persian empire at the end of the fifth century BCE in general and of Phoenicia in particular; this information, although tainted with the pro-Greek sentiment and Greek terminology, can prove very helpful as we have very little in terms of indigenous Persian administrative terminology.

From the *Anabasis*, we learn that at the top of the Persian government was the Great King. Next in the Persian hierarchy were the satraps and

local rulers who were in charge of various lands of the Empire; it appears that, according to Xenophon, Persian power was largely decentralized. The satraps and local rulers were rather autonomous – they could have their own armies and could even conduct foreign policy (*Anabasis* 1.1.8; Dillery 1998: 16–17). The satraps, in their turn, entrusted numerous districts to *hyparchs* (district governors), who were allowed to have armies of their own and to collect tribute (*Anabasis* 1.4.10, 7.8.25). There were further official posts (like a *komarch*, a village leader) that enjoyed considerable powers (*Anabasis* 4.5.10ff.). As Dillery (1998:19) notes, "the *Anabasis* gives the impression of a highly fragmented empire in which there are several autonomous regions."

One such fragment of the empire was Phoenicia, which is described as a territorial and political unit, distinct from Syria, which had its own satrap, Belesys[56] (*Anabasis* 1.4.4, 6, 10, 19), and Arabia (*Anabasis* 1.5.1). In fact, there is no sense at all of Phoenicia being included in Syria (cf. Herodotus' *Histories*). The *Anabasis* addresses the administration of Phoenicia by mentioning Abrocomas, who was sent by Artaxerxes II Mnemon with a company of 300,000 men to defeat the rebellious Prince Cyrus (*Anabasis* 1.3.20, 1.4.3, 5, 18, 1.7.12). Brownson, the author of an authoritative translation of the *Anabasis* (Brownson and Dillery 1998), called Abrocomas "satrap of Phoenicia" in a footnote that survived numerous editions and revisions. It should be pointed out that the text itself does not specifically call Abrocomas a satrap, but a commander (ἄρχοντες). The designation "satrap" could have originated from the fact that many manuscripts of the *Anabasis* contain an addition that mentions his name in the phrase στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες (Brownson and Dillery 1998:110, n. 18). Although στρατηγοὶ (usually translated as "generals") were not the same as satraps, they frequently functioned as military governors associated with individual satrapies.[57] Whether he was a satrap or a general, Abrocomas appears to have been in charge of the territory of Phoenicia at the time of Artaxerxes II (*ca.* 405/4–359/8 BCE).

Another reference to Persian administration of Phoenicia comes from the statistical notes at the end of Book 7:

> The governors [ἄρχοντες] of all the King's territories that we traversed were as follows: Artimas of Lydia, Artacamas of Phrygia, Mithradates of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, Syennesis of Cilicia, Dernes of Phoenicia and Arabia, Belesys of Syria and Assyria, Rhoparas of Babylon, Arcabas of Media, Tiribazus of the Phasians and Hesperites; then the Carduchians, Chalybians, Chaldaeans, Macronians, Colchians, Mossynoecians, Coetians, and Tibarenians, who were independent; and then Corylas governor of Paphlagonia, Pharnabazus of the

> Bithynians, and Seuthes of the Thracians in Europe. (Brownson and Dillery 1998: 651)

In this passage, Phoenicia is included with Arabia in a unit governed by Dernes (Δέρνης), about whom no other information is available. This is the only mention of Dernes in the *Anabasis,* but he is included together with kings (e.g., Syennesis, King of Cilicia) and satraps (e.g., Belesys, satrap of Syria and Assyria), which probably testifies to his high status in the Empire and the land of Phoenicia. These notes at the end of Book 7 are universally regarded as late and this may explain their dramatic disagreement with Herodotus (Brownson and Dillery 1998: 650). The satrapy including Arabia and Phoenicia differs significantly from the Fifth satrapy described in *Histories* 3.91 and may indicate either a misunderstanding by the ancient Greeks of the socio-political divisions of the Persian empire,[58] a diachronic change in the division of satrapies, or a combination of several factors.

Whereas the *Anabasis* is regarded as a rather tendentious, yet basically trustworthy, first-hand account of the Persian empire, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (*The Education of Cyrus*) is viewed either as an imaginative, or a totally fictitious, account of the life of Cyrus the Great. The *Cyropaedia* abounds in details that contradict commonly accepted (i.e., Herodotean and Strabo's) details regarding Cyrus the Great. For example, Xenophon states that Cyrus inherited Media instead of winning it in a battle, and that Cyrus died in bed – a considerably unspectacular and less glorious way to die in Greek eyes – whereas Herodotus (*Histories* 1.212–14) notes that he died in conflict with the Massagetae.[59] In general, the *Cyropaedia* presents Cyrus the Great as "an oriental despot,"[60] thereby revealing the predictable Greek bias in regard to the Persian empire.

Phoenicia is barely mentioned in *Cyropaedia*. In one case, it is one of the nations that Cyrus the Great supposedly conquered:

> and he subdued the Syrians, Assyrians, Arabians, Cappadocians, both the Phrygians, the Lydians, Carians, Phoenicians, and Babylonians; he came to rule the Bactrians, Indians, and Cilicians, and similarly also the Sacians, Paphlagonians, and Magadidians, and very many other nations whose names one cannot even say. *Cyropaedia* 1.1. (Ambler 2001: 22).

Many have questioned this information, as it does not agree with other accounts of the life of Cyrus. The other case involves the army of the Lydian King Croesus, who had the Phoenicians come to his aid (*Cyropaedia* 4.2.10). In both cases, the Phoenicians are regarded as an ethnic group, and, in this sense, the *Cyropaedia* is largely congruent with Herodotus' concept of the

Phoenicians. Beyond this observation, we can barely add anything more significant regarding Phoenicia as it is mentioned in the *Cyropaedia*.

Achaemenid Phoenicia in Secondary Persian-Period Sources

Other sources from the Persian period are even less substantial in references to Phoenicia. Although historiographic sources besides Herodotus mention Phoenicia frequently, none seem to have either any special interest in the topic or any credibility among either ancient observers or modern researchers. Thucydides, in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, speaks of the Phoenicians as pirates (*History* 1.7), close allies and providers of maritime expertise to Darius (*History* 1.16, 1.110, 1.116), and colonizers of many islands (cf. his account of the Phoenician presence in Sicily in *History* 6.2). Apart from resorting to common formulas, Thucydides shows no particular interest either in the Persian empire or in Phoenicia.

In addition to historiographic accounts, writers of Greek tragedies and comedies frequently mention Phoenicians, since they were well known in the Greek world thanks to their trading activities (e.g., see Euripides' *The Phoenician Women*). However, the information provided by these authors for the most part lacks objectivity since their accounts are still colored by bias, distrust, and general exoticism toward the Phoenicians. Aristophanes, for example, is attributed with having written the following lines: "I am becoming a true Phoenician: with one hand I give and with the other I take away."[61] It is notable that in later Roman sources, which frequently drew inspiration from Greek myths, legends, and poetic traditions, the animosity toward the Phoenicians (and the Carthaginians) was transformed into "bad faith" in the vernacular through the notion of *fides Punica,* "Punic faith."[62]

One more type of literature addressing Phoenicia and the Phoenicians, a journey report, is exemplified by the *Periplus* (literally, "sailing around" in Greek) of Pseudo-Scylax, which originated in the sixth–fourth centuries BCE but was possibly redacted in the second half of the fourth century BCE in the aftermath of Tennes' revolt of 346/5 BCE.[63] This *Periplus* is a seaman's manual describing in the clockwise order the cities along the Mediterranean coast from Iberia to West Africa. By virtue of its function, it lacks the usual assortment of preconceived biases that we have observed in other classical literature. Its importance to the current study lies in the fact that one of the surviving parts (§104) of the *Periplus* addresses the geography of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia (see Fig. 1.1).

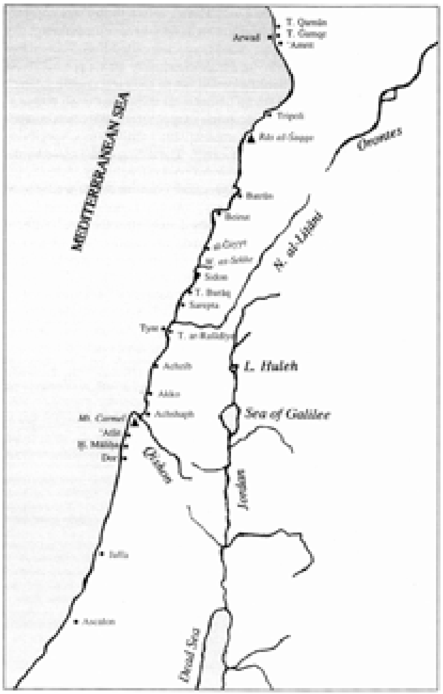


Figure 1.1. Phoenician coast according to Pseudo-Scylax' Periplus §104. From Lipiński (2004: 273). Reproduced with permission of Peeters Publishers.

The broken passage is not concerned with any political or administrative divisions but is a mere recounting of nations and cities along the perimeter of the Mediterranean basin:

> §104. SYRIA AND PHOENICIA. After Cilicia there is the Syrian nation. In Syria, the Phoenician nation inhabits the region of the seacoast and lives in a narrow tract of land, which extends less than forty stadia from the sea, although in some places the breadth is not even ten stadia. Beyond the river of Tapsaḥ lies Tripoli of the Phoenicians, the island and harbour of Arwad with a royal residence of Tyre, distant about eight stadia from the mainland, and on the peninsula there is another city Tripoli, which belongs to Arwad, Tyre, and Sidon; there are three cities at this location and each has its own circuit of walls. Next are the mountain known as God's Face, the city and harbour of (B)teros, [the city] and the northern harbour of Beirut, the city of Porphyreon, the city and the enclosed harbour of Sidon, and Ornithopolis. To the Sidonians belongs (the area) from the city of Leontos to Ornithopolis. To the Tyrians belongs the city of Sarepta, another city known as Tyre, which has a harbour within the walls; this island is the royal residence of the Tyrians and it lies three stadia from the sea[coast]. Next are Palaetyros, a city

> and a river, which flows through its middle, and the city of Achzib and a river; then the city of Akko; Achshaph, a city of the Ty[rians; Carmel], the holy mountain of Zeus; Arados, a city of the Sidonians; [Magdolos, a city] and a river of the Tyrians; Dor, a city of the Sidonians; [Jaffa, a city] where Andromeda is said to have been exposed [to the sea-monster; Asca]lon, a city of the Tyrians and a royal residence. Here is the border of Coele-Syria. The coasting of Coele-Syria from the river of Tapsaḥ to Ascalon, 1,700 stadia (The text is after Lipiński 2004: 269).

In spite of general problems regarding the ambiguity of the term "Phoenicia" in the *Periplus,* the identification of several cities, and the temporal provenance of the account, we can point out several helpful pieces of information. Firstly, Pseudo-Scylax, just as Herodotus before him, designates Phoenicia as part of Syria (which he also calls Coele-Syria).[64] Secondly, he identifies the northern and southern borders of Syria. The northern border separating Cilicia from Coele-Syria was "the river of Tapsaḥ." Lipiński identifies Tapsaḥ as Al Mina, maintaining that this was an ancient name of the city at the mouth of the Orontes river from the eighth through the fourth century BCE.[65] "Ascalon, a city of the Tyrians" is identified in the *Periplus* as the southern border of Syria. Excavations at Ascalon/Ashkelon conducted by Stager (1990, 1993; see also Schloen 1997) uncovered a large presence of "Phoenician material culture" remains at the site. Although no specific Tyrian elements could be distinguished, the city revealed a large number (about 1,400) of dog burials.[66]

The third point of interest in the *Periplus* is a report of several cities belonging either to the Arwadians, Sidonians, or Tyrians. For example, several cities, e.g., Arwad and Sarepta, are said to contain royal residences of Tyre (βασίλεια Τύρου).[67] In addition to the cities with Tyrian royal residences, the cities of Achshaph, Magdolos, and Ascalon were also said to have belonged to the Tyrians. Partially relying on the text of the *Periplus*, Lipiński (2004:283) proposes that the presence of Tyrian royal residences was a reflection of Tyrian hegemony in the coastal Levant, which continued throughout the Persian period and reached its apogee after the defeat of Tennes *ca.* 346/5 BCE.

Contrary to Lipiński, we suggest that the presence of Tyrian royal residences was a relic of the prior domination of Tyre over the Phoenician coast in the pre-Persian period and an indication that it still continued to control some areas of the Achaemenid Levant. As classical sources suggest and as will be argued throughout this monograph, it was the Sidonian preeminence that was most pronounced in Phoenicia during the Achaemenid period. The explanation that the Tyrian influence quickly

spread over several important cities in the aftermath of the defeat of Tennes/Tabnit II of Sidon in 346/5, as Berlin (1997) proposed, is equally unconvincing. Even if Tyre had reclaimed its superior status shortly after Sidon's downfall, its dominion could have lasted only from 346/5 BCE till 332 BCE, the year Alexander the Great besieged the city of Tyre itself, as told by Arrian in the *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 20, 1–3. The existence of Tyrian royal residences in several Phoenician cities in an account dated widely to the sixth–fourth centuries BCE needs to be explained more satisfactorily. A more convincing explanation of the picture of Phoenicia contained in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax is that it contains information from the beginning of the sixth century BCE when the city of Tyre held the dominant position among other coastal Levantine cities. Additionally, the *Periplus* reflects the fact that some Phoenician city-states, such as Tyre and Sidon, controlled, whether politically or economically, some areas of the Levant in the Persian period.

Tertiary Sources on Phoenicia: Non-Contemporaneous Source-Dependent Classical Sources

The last group of texts that has the potential to contribute information regarding Achaemenid Phoenicia is the one that is removed in time from the Persian period. Most certainly, the authors of these texts used several sources upon which they based their descriptions of Phoenicia. Unfortunately, the credibility of those sources as well as the integrity of the transmission by ancient authors is unclear. Additionally, just as was the case with earlier classical sources, the later works are also well conditioned by underlying agendas and preconceived notions of their time and provenance.

Diodorus Siculus on Phoenicia

The first category of non-contemporaneous sources is represented by Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE), who described the fall of Sidon to the Persian King Artaxerxes III Ochus (359–338/7 BCE) in Book XVI of his *Bibliotheca Historia*.[68] In it, Diodorus Siculus provides socio-historical information regarding Phoenicia in the fourth century unavailable from other writers. Although his account is characterized by contradictions, unclear sources, and predictable biases, it is, nevertheless, one of the central sources for the history not only of Phoenicia but also of the Persian empire in general.

In Diodorus' account, Sidon is the capital of a satrapy ("since the King's satraps and generals dwelt in the city of the Sidonians") and separate from Syria, which had its own satrap, Belesys (Book XVI.41.2).[69] Additionally, Diodorus reports that all the Phoenicians, who included "the Aradians, the Sidonians, and the Tyrians," were able to gather in the city of Tripolis, where they held a council to plot against the Persians (Book XVI.41.1). Shortly thereafter, Tennes, the King of Sidon, having made a treaty with Nectanebo, the pharaoh of Egypt, revolted against the Great King *ca.* 346/5 BCE.[70] The war commenced when the Sidonians disturbed the Persian *paradeisos* ("a pleasure garden") in the vicinity of Sidon and executed several Persian officials. The revolt also broke out on Cyprus, where nine kings declared independence at the same time (Book XVI.42.3–4). Artaxerxes III ordered Idrieus of Caria to restore order on Cyprus (Book XVI.42.6–9), while Mazaeus, "governor of Syria," and Belesys, "satrap of Syria," had to take action against Sidon. The two rulers were dealt a blow by Tennes' Egypt-reinforced troops (Book XVI.42.1–2). However, at the end of the story, Tennes betrayed Sidon to Artaxerxes. Many people of the city killed themselves and burned their houses while others capitulated (Book XVI.43–45.6). The cities on Cyprus did not last long thereafter; they either were captured or surrendered (Book XVI.46.1–3).

Scholars find Diodorus' account improbable due both to the general unreliability of the writer and to multiple problems with the account in Book XVI.[71] To name just a few, they note the fluidity of the chronological representation in Diodorus' "tale," the lack of supporting archaeological evidence, and the difficulty of reconciling conflicting accounts regarding Persian administrative divisions.[72] For example, against the background of Diodorus' unreliability, scholars have proposed to ignore his statement regarding Sidon being the satrapal capital, insisting instead on a more viable capital in Damascus, just as Briant (2002: 1004) did on the basis of several classical texts, among them a passage from Berossus (third century BCE):

> §5.2. Later, however, after many years they began to worship statues (*agalmata sebein*) in human form … Artaxerxes, the son of Darius, the son of Ochus, introduced this practice. He was the first to set up (*anastēsas*) an image of Aphrodite Anaitis in Babylon and to require such worship (*sebein*) from the Susians, Ecbatanians, Persians [Persepolis] and Bactrians [Balkh] and from Damascus and Sardis.

Diodorus' account is congruent with our findings regarding the administrative division of Phoenicia, and, as such, it fills the gap in our

knowledge regarding the end of the fifth–middle of the fourth centuries BCE. Moreover, Sidon as a capital of a Persian satrapy would explain better the information regarding Phoenicia in Herodotus' *Histories* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

Ironically, Diodorus' biases connect his account with other classical sources. According to his description, the Phoenicians as a collective are a rebellious and treacherous people, mindful of their own comfort and unwilling to stand up to the Persian authorities when their well-being is at stake. For example, Diodorus mentions that Tennes encouraged other Phoenicians to attempt to gain independence (Book XVI.41.3), but neither Tyre nor Arwad sent contingents to defend Sidon.[73] Overall, Diodorus' information aligns well with other classical sources regarding Achaemenid Phoenicia.

Phoenicia in Classical Sources Claiming to Use Phoenician Sources

Finally, there is yet another category of classical materials addressing Phoenicia that claims to have used indigenous Phoenician sources. Among them are the works by Josephus, the *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos, the diary of Dictus of Crete, the works in Greek entitled *Phoinikia*, *Peri Phoinikes*, and *Phoinikikai Historiai,* and others. This category of literature is extremely problematic for historical reconstructions because none of the original Phoenician or Punic sources are available today.[74] The task of extracting underlying indigenous information is almost impossible since the purported original sources, even if they existed, are from our perspective only as reliable as the classical sources citing them.[75] Moreover, the original sources are hardly distinguishable because of the strong Greco-Roman intellectual and ideological framework enwrapping them.

The example of the first-century CE historian Flavius Josephus is telling in connection with the issue of reliability of classical materials that used indigenous Phoenician sources.[76] Josephus frequently addresses Phoenicia throughout his writings, primarily when he writes on the history of Tyre. The *Tyrian Chronicles*, which Josephus claims to have used, are enormously difficult to extract. Among the reasons for such difficulty are a long line of occasionally faulty transmission[77] and the possibility that Josephus' claim to have used sources was a rhetorical device aimed at establishing the trustworthiness of Josephus himself or giving him "the charisma and nobility of an ancient tradition."[78] Moreover, Josephus' works in general are highly derivative, which is evident in the way he describes Phoenicia under the reign of Xerxes in Book 11 of the *Antiquities of the Jews.* His account is far from being original, as Josephus widely uses the books of

Ezra-Nehemiah, Herodotus' *Histories*, and Xenophon's writings to present Phoenicia as a political unit separate from Coele-Syria, governed by a governor (ἄπαρχος) (*Antiquities of the Jews* 11.138).[79] Although Josephus does not indicate what source(s) he used in his reconstruction, his account is in harmony with other classical sources (cf. Xenophon's description of Abrocomas in *Anabasis* 1.3.20, 1.4.3, 5, 18, 1.7.12), except for the fact that Josephus does not mention Abrocomas by name. It is best to consider Josephus' account, as well as writings by others who claimed to have used genuine Phoenician sources, as supplementary at best in reconstructions of Phoenician history.

Achaemenid Phoenicia in Classical Sources: A Synthesis

As Mazda (1999: 630) has noted, classical sources addressing Achaemenid Phoenicia concentrate for the most part on the events of struggle and opposition to the Phoenicians; as a result, their coverage is patchy and contains vast gaps. Also, these sources are marked by frequent biases that need to be taken into consideration before they can be used in historiographic research. Overall, though, they consistently reveal a picture of Phoenicia as a powerful conglomerate of independent city-states, which contributed heavily to the Persian domination of the eastern Mediterranean in the sixth–fourth centuries BCE.

Classical authors report that Phoenicians were a people of shared cultural and/or ethnic heritage who occupied the land of the east Mediterranean coast from Tell Suqas to Akko, or even down to Gaza.[80] Undoubtedly, such an identification was largely reflective of native Greek concepts of Greek ethnicity. Phoenicians of classical sources were understood to occupy several city-kingdoms, primarily Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre, although other entities appear as members of the designation "Phoenicia" as well (Arwad/Aradus, Amrit, Berytus, and Sarepta).[81] One way to look at the classical concept of Phoenicians is through a comparison with the Slavs occupying a large portion of Eastern Europe today; given the cultural heritage of this author, such a proposal is not very surprising. Although the Slavs may be organized in several states (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria, and the Russian Federation), may differ in political makeup (cf. authoritarianism of Byelorussia and democracy in Poland), and may practice differing religions (Catholicism of Poland vs. Russian Orthodoxy of Russia), they are all undeniably connected by cultural, linguistic, and, ultimately, ethnic bonds, which are not limited by political boundaries.

By the time the Persian empire arrived on the international scene (in the second half of the sixth century BCE), Phoenicia and Phoenicians were very familiar to the Greek world, as classical authors had already frequently mentioned them in their poems. The Greek attitude toward the Phoenicians known to them, i.e., primarily those residing in coastal areas, was a mixed one. On the one hand, the Phoenicians were extolled for their maritime and mercantile skills. On the other hand, they were considered barbarous (in the Greek sense), crafty, and deceitful, which was likely a reflection of the standoff between the Greeks and Phoenicians in the economic sphere. From the time of the first poems of Homer, the Phoenicians were regarded as powerful competitors in trade, with cities that were highly specialized in production and export of certain goods. For example, Tyre was famous for its production of purple dye, whereas Sidon was regarded as the premier producer and exporter of glass products.

Several distinctive stages of socio-political development in Phoenicia emerge through the writings of the classical authors. The first period, lasting from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great through the beginning of the reign of Darius (*ca.* 559–522 BCE), represented a transitional stage in the history of Achaemenid Phoenicia. The fact that classical sources do not address the transition from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian period in Phoenicia may indicate that the process was unspectacular and routine. Many archaeological reports and syntheses confirm that the process of transition was very smooth and was hardly felt by the population of the Phoenician cities.[82]

The testimony of classical sources indicates that the situation changed quite radically during the second distinct period in the history of Phoenician city-states (*ca.* 522–486 BCE) that was ushered in by the reign of Darius and ended with the arrival of Xerxes on the political horizon. Darius reportedly undertook a grandiose and dramatic reorganization of his Empire, which helped him consolidate tribute collecting and centralize administration of dependencies. It is unclear from classical sources whether prior to Darius' reforms Phoenician city-states were included in the former Neo-Babylonian province of Beyond the River. It is possible that sometime at the end of the sixth–first half of the fifth century BCE a new development took place in the political organization of the Levant when Phoenicia and neighboring territories became a satrapy (Herodotus' Fifth satrapy) separate from Babylon, which formed a separate entity (Herodotus' Ninth satrapy). Exact components of the Fifth satrapy are difficult to ascertain due a number of problems in Herodotus' account. It appears, however, that Phoenicia was at the center of that administrative unit and that it exerted influence

over some cities on the island of Cyprus. This influence was intermittent, inconsistent, and for the most part formal, as it left numerous opportunities for anti-Persian rebellions. Most likely, despite being organized under the auspices of the Persian Fifth satrapy, the local Phoenician dynasties were left in power, as classical authors eagerly differentiate between various Phoenician kings. Moreover, by the time of Xerxes, the city of Sidon had emerged as the central and most powerful player on the Levantine coast in economic, political, and maritime matters. Its citizens supplied manpower to many military operations of the Persians, for anything from quelling the Ionian revolt of 499 BCE to the operations against pro-Athenian Cypriot towns. Sidon remained a satrapal capital city at least until the middle of the fourth century BCE, as the passage in Diodorus indicates. The fact that the territorial unit with its capital in Sidon does not appear in the extant Persian inscriptions (e.g., DB, DPe, DSe, DNa, DSaa, Xph) may be explained by the fact that the reorganization occurred sometime toward the middle of the fifth century BCE, after the inscriptions had been written.

The third period in the history of Achaemenid Phoenicia (405–330 BCE) receives little attention from classical authors except for the revolt of Tennes, King of Sidon (346/5 BCE). We propose that the period was characterized by deteriorating relations between the Persians and the Phoenicians.[83] These, in turn, culminated in the wave of satrapal revolts at the end of the first half of the fourth century BCE. The revolts put an end to the prosperous period in the history of Phoenicia in general and Sidon in particular, since the latter sought independence from Persian authorities. The revolt of Tennes was a thorough disaster for the city of Sidon, which lost its satrapal capital status in the Persian empire. The only other event of comparable importance from that period is the siege and destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE. The destruction put an end to any possible Tyrian political ambitions in response to Sidon's fall and marked the end of Phoenician prosperity under the Achaemenids.

Phoenicia, as portrayed by classical sources, fell victim to the economic and political conflicts raging in the eastern Mediterranean throughout the whole of the first millennium BCE. As the Persian empire made forays into Greece, and as it continued its influence over subjugated peoples, attitudes of classical authors writing in the Persian period toward the Phoenicians, Persia's loyal allies throughout most of the sixth–fourth centuries, changed to the point of growing exceedingly negative. Although tendentious and ideologically driven, classical sources present a generally coherent and consistent picture of Achaemenid Phoenicia; a picture that we will analyze and integrate with other available data.

Chapter 2

Listening to Indigenous Voices: The Achaemenid-Period Phoenician Epigraphic Sources

Contrary to the classical sources that provided an outsider's view of Phoenicia, frequently tainted by biases and preconceptions, indigenous Phoenician inscriptions reveal more directly the internal social, political, and religious concerns. At the same time, because they reflect the interactions of Achaemenid Phoenicia with the empire, these epigraphic sources also allow us to better nuance the relationship between the two. It is precisely this relationship that we will address in this chapter based on epigraphic sources, as well as interactions between Phoenician city-states themselves. Ultimately, though, we will strive to determine a specific socio-political picture of Achaemenid Phoenicia emerging from epigraphic sources.

The Nature of Epigraphic Evidence from Achaemenid Phoenicia and Possible Methodological Approaches

As J. Elayi and Sapin have observed (2000: 107), one of the most striking characteristics of Persian-period Phoenician epigraphic studies is the limited number of inscriptions dated to the Persian period compared to the earlier inscriptions. Scholars have usually explained this relative deficiency by several factors, including damage to the Persian archaeological layers by the subsequent Hellenistic and Roman occupations and the possible transition from one form of writing media (clay tablets) to others (papyri, leather, and wax tablets).

The limited amount of epigraphic finds may indeed explain the relative homogeneity of surviving inscriptions from Phoenicia dated not only to the Persian period, but also to the entire first millennium. Whereas inscriptions from the larger Transeuphratene area come in many languages, genres, and writing styles, reflecting a variety of populations and the political and cultural complexity of the region, inscriptions from Phoenicia

are monotonous, both linguistically and thematically. They are written in slightly differing dialects of the Phoenician language (with the Tyrian dialect almost entirely absent) and, for the most part, they are either votive or funerary inscriptions.[1] Furthermore, although the Persians widely used the Aramaic language that they had inherited from the Neo-Assyrian Empire,[2] documents from Phoenicia in Aramaic are rare.

The one category of Persian-period Phoenician inscriptions that is fairly well represented – and on which we will primarily concentrate in this chapter – is monumental inscriptions. Generally, they are very informative regarding the socio-political situation in Achaemenid Phoenicia, although monumental inscriptions are often imbued with ideological, propagandistic messages as they inform us mainly about *the official history* and the top of the political and administrative hierarchical ladder.[3] Issues of bias and ideology are not new in epigraphic studies, as they were raised, for example, by Bodel (2001) when he addressed Greek and Latin inscriptions. With certain qualifiers, these issues are applicable to the study of Phoenician inscriptions from the Persian period as well. Therefore, we will analyze these inscriptions with an understanding of possible underlying ideological agendas present in them, still including non-monumental inscriptions, such as written evidence on ostraca, seals, and weights.

Several important questions, when answered, can possibly allow us to describe the social history of Phoenicia in a more comprehensive way. Who were the people who read inscriptions? Is there a difference between the communication via the means of written language by the elite vs. commoners? What can inscriptions tell us about orality and literacy in Phoenicia? What social and/or political perspectives do inscriptions promote? Is there any correlation between the spread of cults of various deities and changing political and economic fortunes of various Phoenician city-states? Although Phoenician epigraphic evidence from the Persian period is often lacking in its ability to provide us with exhaustive answers to these questions, we would argue that it is sufficient to contribute to a description of the social history of Phoenicia that is coherent and viable.

Primary Sources: Persian-Period Phoenician Inscriptions from Phoenicia Proper

What follows is an overview of the most important inscriptions from Transeuphratene, arranged geographically from north to south, with the text of the inscriptions provided where possible and necessary. For the

purposes of this study, we will introduce three epigraphic classifications: primary (inscriptions from Persian-period Phoenician city-states in Phoenicia), secondary (inscriptions in other languages and inscriptions on seals from the Levant), and tertiary (Phoenician inscriptions found outside Phoenicia). The nature of epigraphic evidence from Phoenicia dictates this arrangement, which differs from the primarily chronological arrangement of our treatment of classical literary sources.

Phoenician Inscriptions from Syria

The area of Antaradus, Arwad, and Amrit located in modern Syria (for a map of Phoenicia, see Fig. 2.1) yielded several Phoenician inscriptions dated to the Persian period. These inscriptions are relatively few in number, but those that survive indicate a burgeoning religious life in the area and a possible Sidonian religious influence in the Persian period.

The most important finds from the area are the two inscriptions discovered during excavations of the temple of Amrit (Maʿabed), which is dated on the basis of coinage and other artifacts to the Persian period.[4]

1. pʿl ʾšmn [xxx
2. wʾḥyy bn gdnbw [(bn)
3. bdmlqrt lʾd[n lxxx
4. k]šmʿ ql[m

1. Ont fait *Echmoun*[...
2. Et ses deux frères, fils de Gadna*bou* [(fils de)
3. Bodmelqart, à leur Seign[eur, à ...
4. Car il a] entendu [leur] voix [.
   (from Bordreuil 1985: 223)

The inscriptions, one of which is reproduced above (the inscriptions are similar in content), are dated to the Persian period as well by the virtue of being found in the same archaeological contexts as other temple artifacts.[5] Scholars have noted a curious fact that although the inscriptions were found some 150 km/93 mi to the north of Sidon, they both mention the god Eshmun (*ʾŠMN*), a god of healing, the chief deity of the city of Sidon since *ca.* 500 BCE.[6] This observation, combined with the proposal that the area has been frequently associated with veneration of Eshmun, as the excavations of Persian period layers by Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby at Tell Kazel demonstrated,[7] indicates the possibility of an emergence of the Sidonian religious influence in the Amrit area in the Persian period. At the same time, one should not exclude a possibility that the inscriptions may have been left by non-locals or members of resident trading enclaves. Yet, the question still stands: why would the temple at Amrit be considered as

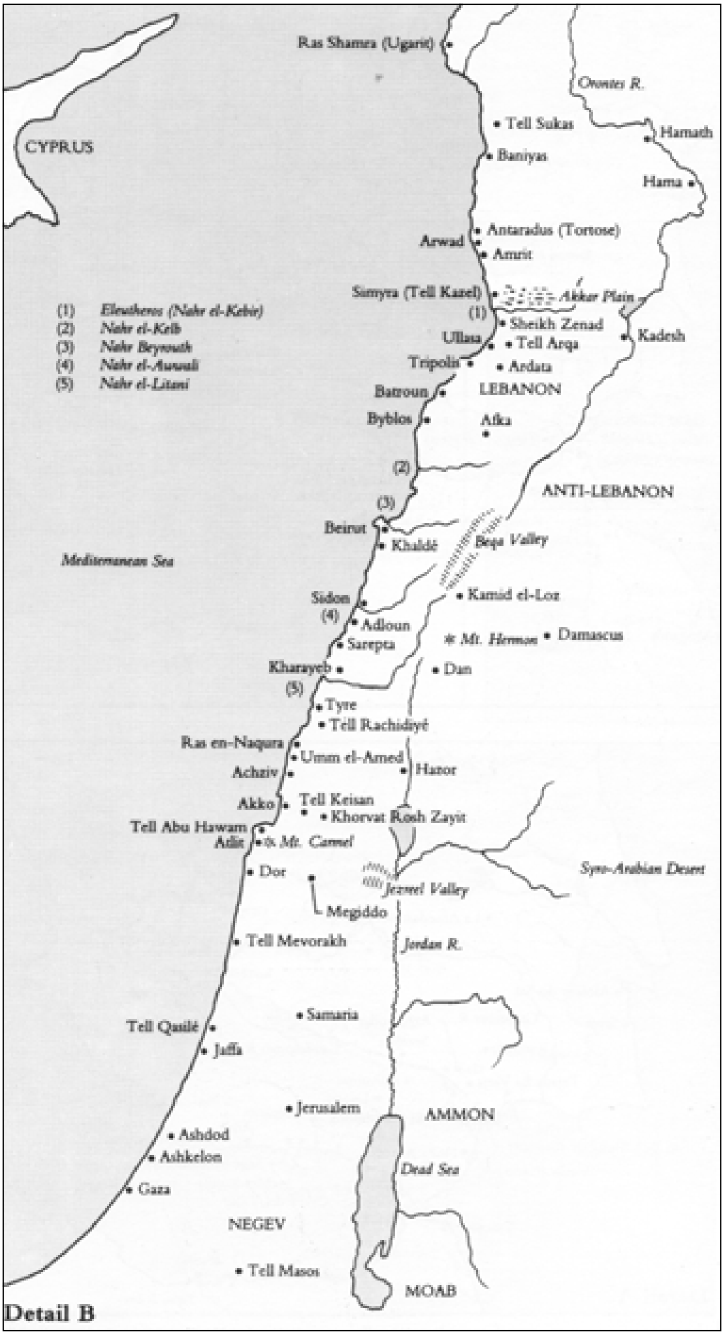


Figure 2.1. Map of Phoenicia. After drawing appearing in *The Phoenicians* by Glen Markoe, British Museum Press 2000, page 7.

a receptor of veneration of Eshmun, a traditional Sidonian deity, if it had not been in some way connected with Sidon?

Equally noteworthy is the presence of a theophoric name *bdmlqrt* in line 3 of the cited inscription, since Melqart is a deity traditionally associated with another Phoenician city-state, Tyre.[8] Unfortunately, the inscription is fragmentary and the archaeological context is insufficient to explain why two Phoenician deities venerated at different locales are mentioned in one inscription. A possible explanation can be religious syncretism present in the area of Achaemenid Amrit.

The inscriptions from the temple of Amrit also suggest close long-standing cultural and economic relations between Amrit and the island of Cyprus. The two inscriptions from Ma'abed bear paleographic similarities with Phoenician inscriptions found on the island of Cyprus, such as the use of the prosthetic aleph and the suffix –y to designate the third person masculine singular.[9] Such a connection is not necessarily a new notion since scholars have noted economic ties of Amrit with Cyprus.[10]

Aside from the two inscriptions from the temple of Amrit, a number of other Phoenician inscriptions have been discovered in Syria in the last 20 or so years. A good number of those inscriptions are on weights (approximately 80 of them) coming from the areas of Amrit, Tartus, Arwad, and other areas of the northern Syro-Phoenician coast.[11] In spite of the seemingly significant number of inscriptions on weights, they raise questions regarding their authenticity and date and, therefore, are extremely difficult to use for the purposes of this study.

Overall, inscriptions from Syria reveal a number of cultural connections between the inhabitants of the coast and the mainland Phoenician city-states and Cyprus. One of the more significant connections is the pronounced penetration of the Sidonian religious pantheon into the area.

Byblos

A substantially larger amount of Phoenician inscriptions dated to the Persian period has been discovered at the core Phoenician sites. Most of these inscriptions are older finds that have received ample attention from scholars. Newer inscriptions discovered in the last 20 or so years come mostly from controlled excavations at Beirut and Sidon and from the antiquities market.[12] Overall, linguistically unique[13] inscriptions from Persian-period Byblos, though few in number, primarily establish the continuity of veneration of the Mistress of Byblos and provide clues as to the political atmosphere in the city in the sixth–fourth centuries BCE.

The oldest Persian-period inscriptions from Byblos (dated to *ca.* 500 BCE) are two funerary inscriptions, one of Shiptibaal (Šipṭi-baʿl) III (or his son), also referred to by scholars as KAI 9, and another of an unnamed king of Byblos (possibly Shiptibaal III as well).[14] These inscriptions are usually discussed in tandem as they are very close to each other semantically and stylistically. The second inscription is of special interest since it contains indirect allusions to the Great King, which are thought by Cross to reflect the dealings of the deceased king of Byblos with the Persian king:

1. [I (PN and titulary) lie in] this [sarcophagus], I alone, and here, behold I lie prepared for burial in myrrh and bdel[lium ...
2. ... and if anyone seeks to open] this sarcophagus or to disturb my mouldering [*sic*] bones, seek him out O (Baʿl) Addīr and with all the assembly [of the gods ...
3. ... king of the Persians] and Medes, lord of kingdoms and dominions {and dominions}. I walked among the great [...

(from Cross 1978: 41)

Cross (1978: 43) deduces the title of the Persian king, whoever he might have been, on the basis of the word MDY ("the Medes", as in "ŒRY PRS WMDY", "princes of Persia and Media") familiar from Esther 1:14. However, both the fragmentary nature of the inscription and Cross' use of the text of Esther raise questions regarding this reconstruction. Nevertheless, if his proposal is correct, the inscription demonstrates lexical and ideological proximity with contemporary texts from Sidon (see below) and indicates the political subordination of the king of Byblos to the Persian King.[15] Supplemented by Herodotus' description of the time period immediately prior to the administrative reforms undertaken by Darius or, possibly, Xerxes (*ca.* 522–465 BCE), the inscription with its tribute to the Great King matches well the political situation of the end of the sixth–beginning of the fifth century BCE. It is also noteworthy that the Byblian king considered it important to publicize his compliance with and subservience to the king of Persia in such a public communication as a funerary inscription.

The same transitional atmosphere characterizes the longest and most significant inscription from Byblos, the Yehawmilk inscription (KAI 10):

1. I am Yehaumilk king of Byblos, son of YḤRBʿL, grandson of Urimilk king of
2. Byblos, whom the lady, Mistress of Byblos, made ruler over Byblos. I called
3. upon my lady, Mistress of Byblos, and she heard my voice. And I made for my lady, Mistress of
4. Byblos, this altar of bronze which is in this court, and this gateway of gold which is

5. opposite this gateway of mine and the winged disk of gold which is (set) within the stone which is above this gateway of gold,
6. and this portico and its pillars and the capitals which are upon them and its roof. I Yehaumilk
7. king of Byblos made (them) for my lady, Mistress of Byblos, when I called upon my lady,
8. Mistress of Byblos, and she heard my voice and did kindness to me. May the Mistress of Byblos bless Yehaumilk
9. king of Byblos and give life to him and prolong his days and his years over Byblos; for he is a lawful king! And may [the lady],
10. Mistress of Byblos, give [to him] favour in the sight of the gods and favour in the sight of the people of this
11. land! [Whoever you are], be you ruler or be you commoner, who may do further work on
12. this altar, [or on] this gateway of gold, or on this portico, [you shall put] my name Yehaumilk
13. [beside] your own on that work; and if you do not put my name beside your own but
14. remove this work and [shift] this [(pillar)] along with its base from this place and uncover
15. its hiding-place, may the lady, Mistress of Byblos, destroy both that man and his seed
16. in the presence of all the gods of Byblos!

(from Gibson 1982: 95)

Dated to the beginning or the middle of the fifth century BCE based on its paleographic qualities and the archaeological context,[16] the inscription was found on a limestone stele (1.13 by 0.56 m; 3.7 by 1.8 ft) that also features a bas relief of two regally-dressed persons (Figure 2.2).

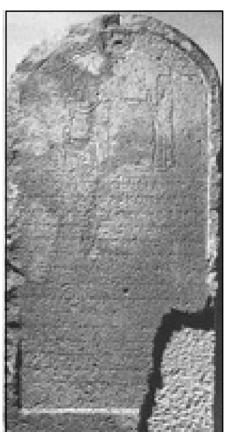


Figure 2.2. Stele of Yehawmilk, King of Byblos. Reproduced with permission of Musée du Louvre.

Using the stele's inscription as a clue, scholars frequently identify the two persons from the stele as the king of Byblos and the Mistress of Byblos, a traditional goddess of Byblos.[17] What is striking, however, is the possibility that the images on the stele may point to Persian iconographic and cultural influence. The Byblian king is wearing Persian dress, and a winged solar disk, a frequent element in Persian iconography, is hovering above the goddess and the king (cf. the Behistun relief). Furthermore, the text itself supports this interpretation (lines 5 and 6).

Arguably, the *raison d'être* for the Yehawmilk inscription is a description of the changes that were made in the Persian period to the Temple of the Mistress of Byblos (referred to in the text as BʿLT GBL). Several important elements of the temple, such as an altar, an altar/engraved object, and a portico, received additions or were dedicated to the Mistress of Byblos. With all the attention paid to the goddess in Byblos, one cannot help asking a question regarding her identity.

The first viable connection is the Egyptian one, since the headdress of the goddess on the upper register of the Yehawmilk inscription resembles the headdress of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. That the two goddesses were equated already in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions of the fifteenth century BCE has already been established.[18] However, the similarity of the Mistress of Byblos with the goddess Astarte worshiped at Tyre and Sidon is of greater importance to this study. Scholars have noted several connections between the two goddesses.[19] For example, Bordreuil and Gubel (1985: 182–83) describe a model of a throne dated to the beginning-middle of the fifth century BCE (provenance inconclusive) with a bilingual inscription that has in Greek ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗ|ΘΕΑ|ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ ("A Astarté, la très grande déesse") and in Phoenician LBʿLT GBL ("A la dame de Byblos"). It appears that the two goddesses are equated in the inscription. If we suppose that the Mistress of Byblos assumed not full correspondence with Astarte but even some characteristics of the latter, then a case for the emergence of Sidonian religious influence in the city of Byblos toward the middle of the fifth century BCE becomes stronger. As Wyatt (1999: 111) has pointed out, Astarte becomes an important goddess in the city of Sidon, probably even its patroness, toward the end of the sixth century BCE. For example, Tabnit king of Sidon is mentioned as a priest of Astarte in the inscription on his sarcophagus dated to the sixth century BCE (see KAI 13). Similarly, the inscription of his son Eshmunazor describes Tabnit's wife Amotashtart as a priestess of Astarte and mentions a temple built or rebuilt for the goddess in the fifth century BCE (see KAI 14). The identification of the Mistress of Byblos with the goddess Astarte, a traditional Sidonian deity, indicates the

possible spread of Sidonian religious influence to other city-states of the central Phoenician coastland starting sometime at the beginning or the middle of the fifth century BCE.

The Yehawmilk inscription also sheds light on the political perturbations in Byblos in the fifth century. Gibson (1982: 96) proposed that Yehawmilk inherited the throne from his grandfather instead of his father YḤRBʿL who does not appear to have a royal title (see line 1). It is unclear whether there is any significance to such a break in the line of succession, although changes in political life in Byblos often did not require much external pressure or influence, as the inscription of Batnoam demonstrates (see below). In fact, the economic climate and political situation in the larger coastal region appear to have been quite prosperous, cooperative, and peaceful to allow the elites in Byblos to engage in considerable religious construction projects, as the Yehawmilk inscription prompts us to believe.

The changes in succession that did occur, however, reflected mostly minor internal tumult and royal shake-ups as suggested by the funerary inscription of Batnoam (KAI 11), which is inscribed on a marble sarcophagus discovered near the site of a crusader castle in Byblos. The inscription mentions Batnoam, the mother of Azbaal, a king of Byblos whose name is known to scholars from the coins bearing his name:

> In this coffin lie I Batnoam, mother of King Azbaal, king of Byblos, son of Paltibaal, priest of the Mistress, in a robe and with a tiara on my head and a gold bridle on my mouth, as was the custom with the royal ladies who were before me.
> (from Gibson 1982: 100)

Since Azbaal's father Paltibaal is described as a priest of "the Mistress (of Byblos)" and not as a king, scholars (e.g., Dunand 1931[1933]: 156) have suggested that Azbaal founded a new dynasty in Byblos as a political challenge to the Achaemenid power during the Phoenician revolt against Persia in the middle of the fourth century BCE. Such a proposal may seem appealing, especially if one takes into consideration that the inscription is dated to 350 BCE, the period of the revolt of Tennes of Sidon, based on paleographic considerations and Azbaal's coinage. This historical picture, however, does not correspond with our findings regarding the revolt. According to Diodorus, the extent of the revolt does not appear to involve the whole of Phoenicia, as Sidon alone bore the weight of it and the subsequent punishment. Moreover, there is no internal indication in the inscription that Batnoam was in a state of rebellion against the Persian

imperial power. Therefore, we read the inscription as an indication of internal changes that occurred in Byblian politics. The extent of these changes is unclear but it is unlikely that they were anything but minor – the continuity of succession is still emphasized in the inscription.[20]

In addition to the above-mentioned older finds, two relatively new but important Byblian inscriptions have been acquired from the antiquities market.[21] These inscriptions comprise fragments from a stone statue inscribed B'LT GBL ("Baalat/the Mistress of Byblos") and an already-mentioned terracotta model of a throne inscribed with LB'LT GBL under a Greek inscription (ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗ|ΘΕΑ|ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ). Although the inscriptions come from the antiquities market and are of unclear provenance, Lemaire (1991) dates both inscriptions to 450–400 BCE on the basis of paleography. If his dating is correct, then these inscriptions, just like the other inscriptions from Byblos, indicate the worship of the Mistress of Byblos in Achaemenid-era Byblos and a possible process of religious syncretism that saw the two goddesses, Astarte and the Mistress of Byblos, assuming a more similar character, likely as a result of the Sidonian cultural and religious influence.

Finally, one inscription, although not originating from Byblos, must be mentioned in connection with this city-state. In recent years, several scholars have suggested on the basis of the text CT 55, No. 435 that Byblos was ruled by the Achaemenids at the time of Darius through the Babylonian landowner Rikis-kalâmu-Bēl. The text found in the Sippar region of Mesopotamia does mention Rikis-kalâmu-Bēl, described as LÚ.NAM *ša* ^{URU}gub-ba-al^{ki}, a governor of Byblos, who made a donation of a tithe. That the tithe included silver, red purple wool, blue purple wool, two vessels of wine, and cedar wood, all products that Byblos was certainly able to provide, rightfully indicates to these scholars that the text mentions Byblos on the Mediterranean coast rather than a city by the same name in the Sippar region. Rikis-kalâmu-Bēl, according to Dandamaev (1995, 2006; see also Fried (2003a) who follows Dandamaev's arguments closely), was a Babylonian, an inhabitant of Sippar, who held estates in Sippar for which he paid rent. Based on these assumptions, Fried concludes that the Achaemenids selected Rikis-kalâmu-Bēl from the landed aristocracy of Babylon to govern Byblos.

Several problems prevent us from accepting this position. Firstly, although the designation LÚ.NAM (pīẖātu) does indeed designate a "provincial governor,"[22] the responsibilities of such a governor and the degree of his involvement in the affairs of the province are unknown to us. It would be preposterous to assume that the governor was intimately

involved in the affairs of the province based only on one inscription. Moreover, we know from the inscription of Shiptibaal III (or his son) that Byblos was ruled by the king of Byblos who considered himself under the direct authority of the Great King, without resorting to any intermediaries. Therefore, even if Dandamaev's proposal is correct, the presence of a person with the title "provincial governor" does not indicate the intrusive character of Achaemenid administration of Phoenician city-states. Secondly, it is not apparent that the title LÚ.NAM was used frequently in Phoenician city-states, as there are no other documents known to us that mention it. It is conceivable that the installation of a temporary governor was a measure aimed at ensuring establishment of Achaemenid rule in Byblos. The post could have been abolished or later become largely a token representation of Achaemenid power in Byblos. It is also possible that the post survived from the previous Neo-Babylonian rule by hereditary or other means. In any case, the presence of a post does not equal a close involvement of the empire in administering the city-state.

Third, the phenomenon of the Persians allowing local dynasts/kings to rule over their native lands is well attested in ancient documents. Briant (2002: 497–99), for example, cites the examples of the Paphlagonians, the Mysians, the Moschians, the Macrones, the Mossynoeci, and the Cilicians, among others, who were able to preserve either total or limited independence from the central authority. Having a provincial governor closely controlling the state affairs would be an anomaly that would suggest that Phoenician city-states, and Byblos in particular, were so volatile that they had to be governed through an outsider, namely a Babylonian. However, this is not the case. All the sources indicate that the transition from Neo-Babylonian rule to Achaemenid rule was rather uneventful in the Levant. Additionally, epigraphic sources indicate that Phoenician city-states exhibited exemplary compliance with the policies of the new empire.

In the final analysis, the suggestion that Rikis-kalâmu-Bēl was a Babylonian governor of Byblos who was closely engaged in the administration of the city-state is not convincing. Several socio-historical observations prevent us from accepting such a proposal.

In concluding our overview of Byblian inscriptions, we would like to reiterate that they generally evince the emerging Sidonian cultural and economic influence in Byblos and hint at the preferred status of Sidon as conferred on it by Persia throughout most of the sixth–fourth centuries BCE. Furthermore, inscriptions from Byblos indicate both the consistency of indigenous cults of several Phoenician city-states and, at the same time, the rise of religious syncretism in Achaemenid Phoenicia.

Sidon and its Environs

Overall, Sidon has yielded close to 60 inscriptions dated to the Persian period. The bulk of them were discovered in the course of excavations of the temple of Eshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh (about 3 km/1.5 mi southeast of Sidon), between 1963 and 1979.[23]

The first noteworthy inscription from Sidon is the Tabnit inscription (KAI 13) carved on a black-basalt Egyptian sarcophagus that was discovered at the necropolis at Saida.[24] The eight-line Phoenician inscription located at the foot of the sarcophagus is dated variably by scholars from the third quarter of the sixth century BCE to the late fifth century BCE:[25]

1. I Tabnit, priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians, son of
2. Eshmunazar, priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians, lie in this
3. coffin. Whoever you are, any man at all, who come upon this coffin, you must not
4. open up (what is) over me nor disturb me; for they did not gather together silver for me, they did not gather together
5. gold for me nor any riches whatsoever, but only I myself lie in this coffin. You must not open up
6. (what is) over me nor disturb me; for such an act is an abomination to Astarte. But if
7. you in fact open up (what is) over me and in fact disturb me, may you have no seed among the living under the sun
8. nor a resting-place with the shades!

(from Gibson 1982: 103)

The sarcophagus itself, fashioned in the traditional Egyptian shape with a bearded male head, is believed to have once belonged to an Egyptian general Pen-Ptah and been "recycled" some time after the Persian invasion of Egypt in 525 BCE.[26] The inscription of Tabnit (Figure 2.3) shows that the king, as well as his father Eshmunazor I before him, was a priest of Astarte, thus pointing to a continuous tradition of Sidonian kings maintaining sacerdotal functions in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. From a stylistic point of view, the imprecatory formula used in the inscription against potential tomb robbers is reminiscent of other Syrian and Phoenician funerary inscriptions, such as the inscription of Ahiram (KAI 1), KAI 225–226, and other inscriptions.[27]

The inscription of Eshmunazor II (KAI 14), Tabnit's son and a grandson of Eshmunazor I, has received considerably more attention due to its importance for reconstruction of the socio-political conditions in Achaemenid Phoenicia.[28] The inscription, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BCE[29] or the first half of the fifth century BCE,[30] was incised,



Figure 2.3. Anthropoid sarcophagus of King Tabnit. Photo reproduced with permission of Rajesh Singh.

just like the Tabnit inscription, on a black basalt sarcophagus brought from Egypt. Eshmunazor's sarcophagus, however, unlike his father's, was brought to Sidon new.[31]

1. In the month of Bul, in the fourteenth (14) year of the reign of King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians,
2. son of King Tabnit, king of the Sidonians, King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, spoke and said: I have been seized
3. before my time, the son of a (short) number of days, a smitten one, an orphan, the son of a widow; and I lie in this box and in this grave,
4. in the place which I built. Whoever you are, be you ruler or be you commoner, let none such open up this resting-place or
5. seek anything in it, for they did not lay anything in it; and let none such lift up the box in which I lie or carry me
6. away from this resting-place to another resting-place! Even if men speak to you, do not listen to their talk. For should any ruler or
7. any commoner open up (what is) over this resting-place, or lift up the box in which I lie or carry me away from
8. this resting-place, may they have no resting-place with the shades, and may they not be buried in a grave, and may they have no son nor seed
9. to succeed them, but may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty ruler who shall have dominion over them, so that they
10. perish, both (that) ruler or that commoner who opens up (what is) over this resting-place or who lifts up
11. this box, and the seed of that ruler or those commoners! May they have no root below nor
12. fruit above nor renown among the living under the sun! For I am to be pitied; I have been seized before my time, the son of a (short)

13. number of days, a smitten one, an orphan I, the son of a widow. Yet I Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, son of
14. King Tabnit, king of the Sidonians, grandson of King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Amotashtart,
15. priestess of Astarte, our lady the queen, daughter of King Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians, are we who built the houses of
16. the gods – the [house of Astarte] in Sidon-Land-by-the-Sea, and we (also) established Astarte (in) Lofty-Heavens; and we
17. (it were) who built in the Mountain a house for Eshmun, the prince of the sanctuary of the Ydll-Spring, and we (also) established him (in) Lofty-Heavens; and we (it were) who built houses
18. for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon-Land-by-the-Sea,[32] a house for Baal of Sidon and a house for Astarte-Name-of-Baal. Furthermore, the lord of kings gave us
19. Dor and Joppa, the rich lands of Dagon which are in the plain of Sharon, as a reward for the striking deeds which I performed; and we added them
20. to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever. Whoever you are, be you ruler or be you commoner, let none such open up (what is) over me
21. or uncover (what is) over me or carry me away from this resting-place; and let none such lift up the box in which I lie, lest
22. these holy gods deliver them up so that both that ruler or those commoners and their seed perish for ever!

(from Gibson 1982: 107, 109)

The inscription of Eshmunazor (literally, "Eshmun has given help") is chiefly concerned with the reign of the king who died in the fourteenth year of his rule (line 1). From it we learn that Eshmunazor inherited kingship after the death of his father Tabnit but it was his mother Amotashtart who acted as regent before he could assume royal responsibilities. Gibson notes that she continued to be a powerful political figure in Sidon after her son's death since she is mentioned in the middle part of the inscription (line 13). Among the achievements of Eshmunazor and his mother were the construction of the temples of Astarte (lines 16 and 18), Eshmun (line 17), and Baal (line 18).[33] The inscription opens and closes with predictable imprecations against opening Eshmunazor's final resting-place (lines 4–12 and 20–22).

Linguistically, the inscription abounds in literary parallels with ancient Jewish writings and other Phoenician inscriptions dated to the same era. For example, the linguistic formula used to indicate death (a Niphal of the root *GZL*) in the inscription is used to indicate premature death in Ps. 88:6, Isa. 53:8, Lam. 3:54, and Ezra 37:11.[34] The most significant

contribution of the inscription, however, is its mention of the land the Great King gave to Sidon:

18. … W‘D YTN LN ’DN MLKM
19. ’YT D’R WYPY ’RṢT DGN H’DRT ’Š BŠD ŠRN LMDT ‘ṢMT ’Š P‘LT WYSPNNM
20. ‘LT GBL ’RṢ LKNNM LṢDNM L‘L[M] …

(the text of the inscription is after Stéphan 1985: 73)

18. … Furthermore, the lord of kings gave us
19. Dor and Joppa, the rich lands of Dagon which are in the plain of Sharon, as a reward for the striking deeds which I performed; and we added them
20. to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians forever …

(from Gibson 1982: 109)

The expression ’DN MLKM (“the lord of kings”) also appears in the inscription of Umm El-Amed IV (KAI 19) dated to 222 BCE in which it refers to the Ptolemies.[35] In the past, scholars used this coincidence to date the inscription of Eshmunazor, as well as the inscription of Tabnit, to the third century BCE. Gibson notes, however, that an Aramaic version of the title, MR’MLKN, appears in the earlier seventh-century Adon Letter (KAI 266) when it refers to the ruler of the day, the Pharaoh of Egypt.[36] Moreover, it is currently widely accepted that ’DN MLKM, MR’ MLKN, as well as the Greek *κύριος βασιλέων* from several Ptolemaic inscriptions are all renderings of the Assyrian designation *bēl šarrāni*. Therefore, the expression “the lord of kings” in the inscription of Eshmunazor refers most likely to the imperial ruler of the day, the Persian king.[37] Such linguistic explanation allows not only the Persian period dating of the inscription of Eshmunazor, but also of the Tabnit inscription.

Although the Persian-period provenance of the inscription seems secure, the identity of the Persian king in the inscription of Eshmunazor has been extensively debated, as scholars have attempted to date the inscription (and the entire dynasty of Eshmunazor) based on onomastic, archaeological, and stylistic criteria.[38] Overall, three major camps have been identified: the now largely abandoned lower-dating (end of the fifth–fourth centuries BCE) school (e.g., Albright), the intermediate-dating (fifth century BCE) school (e.g., Betlyon, Galling, Kelly, Peckham), and the high-dating (end of the sixth–beginning of the fifth centuries BCE) school primarily represented by French scholars (e.g., Dunand, J. Elayi, Lemaire). Elayi, for example, proclaiming the fifth century dating as too early, outdated, and even erroneous,[39] notes the Sidonian involvement in Cambyses’ campaign against Egypt in 525 BCE and proposes that Eshmunazor II’s reign fell

sometime between 539 and 525 BCE. It appears that J. Elayi in her high dating of the inscription of Eshmunazor, which is also shared by Vanel, Puech, Ganzmann, Stucky, Lemaire, Bonnet and Xella, places a considerable amount of weight on the beginning date of sarcophagi production in Sidon. She argues (2004 and 2006b) that if Sidon started producing sarcophagi locally before the end of the sixth century, why, then, would a local king be buried in an imported sarcophagus? We would argue, however, that the reuse of Egyptian sarcophagi might have been a reflection of the high prestige value of imported goods in Phoenicia, and thus the high dating would lack serious foundation.

In our view, the Herodotus connection is not to be ignored. Indeed, since Herodotus mentions repeatedly the active participation of the Sidonians in Persian campaigns, scholars have made several proposals regarding the campaign for which the lands were given as a gift (Lines 18–19). Kelly (1987) has proposed that the gift of lands was granted to the Sidonians for their contribution in the suppressing of the Ionian rebellion of 499–494 BCE by Darius (the Phoenician contribution is noted in *Histories* 6.6, 6.14, 6.25, 6.28). Galling (1963) has suggested that the gift of imperial lands to Sidon was remuneration for the Sidonian contribution at the battle of Salamis (*ca.* 480 BCE). If his line of reasoning is accepted and the ceding of lands was done shortly before Eshmunazor II's death, then "the lord of kings" in the inscription is Xerxes I. Advancing an intriguing idea, Peckham (1968: Chapter Three) maintains that the Sidonian admiral Tetramnestus in charge of the Sidonian troops at the battle of Salamis (see *Histories* 7.98) was actually the king of the dynasty immediately preceding Eshmunazor I. Later, after Tetramnestus' death at the hands of the Greeks, Eshmunazor I assumed the throne. According to Peckham's theory, Tabnit became king in 470 BCE and Eshmunazor II succeeded him in 465 BCE. If Peckham's chronology is correct, Artaxerxes I (465–424/3 BCE) was the king who rewarded Sidon for its loyalty. Bondì (1974: 154–55) also places the concession of Dor and Joppa to Sidon during the reign of Artaxerxes, specifically during the rebellion of Inarus (460 BCE).[40]

It is evident from the above overview that the circumstances of the allocation of imperial lands to Sidon are unclear and debatable. We would like to invoke, however, the conclusions from our overview of classical sources and propose that the gift of lands was probably made sometime during the reign of Xerxes. In addition to the testimony regarding the Sidonian assistance to the Persians during the battle of Salamis in 480 BCE (*Histories* 7.98), we know that Xerxes held the king (βασιλρύς) of Sidon in high honor (*Histories* 8.67), thus making a handover a distinct possibility.

The correlation between the inscription of Eshmunazor and the account in Herodotus is unknown, although it is unlikely that Herodotus could have used the inscription of Eshmunazor, since he usually, but not always, mentioned his sources. The fact that a Phoenician epigraphic source and a Greek account are congruent in their representations of the socio-political history of Phoenicia in the fifth century BCE testifies to the high degree of probability that both sources are reliable concerning the general historical picture. The details, however, including the chronology of the kings of Sidon in the sixth–fifth centuries BCE remain unclear to this day.[41]

Line 19 of the Eshmunazor inscription is curious as it specifies the lands given by the Great King to Sidon: "*'YT D'R WYPY 'RṢT DGN H'DRT*" ("Dor and Joppa, the rich lands of Dagon"). Whereas *DGN* can be translated as "grain" or "corn" and can in this sense represent the abundance of the plain of Sharon, as some scholars (e.g., Borowski 1988: 40–43) have suggested, *DGN* (Dagon) as the name of the deity associated with the region is to be preferred.[42] As for the cities of Dor and Joppa/Jaffa, the testimony of classical sources demonstrates their active maritime status and strong Phoenician connections during the Persian period. Herodotus mentions that the Fifth satrapy included "the part of Syria called Palestine" (*Histories* 3.91) that would certainly include Dor and Jaffa. Dor, "city of the Sidonians," according to the Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax (§104), was a busy maritime center until the third quarter of the fourth century BCE when the international trade of the city drastically declined.[43] The finds from the city of Jaffa dated to the Persian period are less clear as they do not unequivocally connect it with Phoenician cities. Overall, however, epigraphic evidence in conjunction with classical sources suggests that throughout the Achaemenid era Sidonian influence extended at least as far south as Jaffa, and that Sidon was at the helm of political life of the southern Levant under the Achaemenids. The handover of Dor and Jaffa to the Sidonian king could have possibly represented the legitimization by the Persian king of already established Sidonian cultural and economic presence in the southern Levant. This observation will become important in our overview of Persian-period material culture artifacts from Phoenicia and the southern Levant (see Chapter Four and Appendix B).

Although from a literary and historical viewpoint the inscriptions of Tabnit and Eshmunazor are deemed the most important ones from Sidon, the inscriptions of Bodashtart are the most abundant.[44] The inscriptions totaling 20 (or 30, according to J. Elayi 2006b) were discovered on building stones of the Eshmun Temple at Bostan Esh-Sheikh in the hills above Sidon.[45] As Lemaire (2006b: 187) points out, the inscriptions of Bodashtart

still raise a number of linguistic and orthographic questions,[46] but the many theophoric personal names based on the name of Astarte present in the inscriptions further affirm the cult of Astarte in Achaemenid Sidon and its environs.

Finally, we should mention the Baalshillem inscription:

> This (is the) statue which Baalshillem son of King Ba-na, king of the Sidonians, son of King Abdamun, king of the Sidonians, son of King Baalshillem, king of the Sidonians, gave to his lord Eshmun at the YDL-Spring. May he bless him!
> (from Gibson 1982: 115).

This inscription was discovered by Dunand in 1963–64 on the base of one of the statues of children in the canal near the Eshmun Temple.[47] The statues were erected as a dedication to Eshmun and other deities in order to provide cures for sick children. The inscription, dated by Gibson (1982: 114–15) and others (e.g., Kaiser and Borger 1983: 594) to *ca.* 400 BCE, but to the middle of the fifth century BCE by J. Elayi (2006b), presents a line of succession of Sidonian kings possibly up until as late as the year 375 BCE. In addition to providing further evidence for the cult of Eshmun in Sidon, the inscription corroborates the monograms found on the earliest Sidonian coins discussed in Chapter Three.

The Temple of Eshmun itself also produced several inscribed ostraca with lists of proper names.[48] J. Elayi (1989b:65) has noted that these ostraca are difficult to interpret since it is unknown what their function and date are. However, the use of Eshmun and Astarte in theophoric names on the inscriptions allows us to confirm the findings from the previous epigraphic data from Sidon, i.e., that the cults of these two deities were prospering in Persian-period Sidon.

In short, Sidonian inscriptions from the Persian period point to the continuous cult of the divine duo of Astarte and Eshmun and the privileged status the city of Sidon received under the Achaemenids. The strong presence of traditional Sidonian cults and their spread onto other Phoenician polities, as we have seen in Byblos, point to the emerging cultural and religious influence of Sidon, especially evident toward the middle of the Persian period.

Sarepta

A series of fragmentary inscriptions was recovered from the city of Sarepta located near the village of Sarafand, about 16 km/10 mi from Sidon:[49]

Inscription LI

]LŠDRP'?WŠ.[

Inscription LII
1.]HWZHTY[
2. ’MR L’ DNN GRMLQR[T

Inscription LIII
]SḤ BN ’B [.

Inscription LIV
]L’ŠMNYTN

Inscription LV
‘ŠR
ṢRPT
‘12
(From J. Elayi 1989b: 49).

These inscriptions from Sarepta, a prosperous locale during the Persian period as evinced by imports starting in the sixth century BCE and continuing through the fourth century BCE,[50] attest to the spread of the cults of Shadrafa and Eshmun (cf. the inscriptions from Amrit). Especially noteworthy in this regard is the presence of a theophoric name ’ŠMNYTN in one of the inscriptions that shows the influence of Eshmun, the chief deity of Sidon, on the neighboring cities in the Persian period.[51]

Tyre

As valuable as they could have been for historical reconstructions, significant inscriptions from the city-state of Tyre dated to the Persian period are practically nonexistent. One exception is an inscription of an unknown origin coming dated by Lemaire (2004) to 539–533/2 BCE. The only piece of socio-historical information that we can glean from it is the fact that the inscription mentions “king Ittobaal son of King Hiram, King of Tyre,” identified by Lemaire as Ittobaal IV who acted as a coregent with his father Hiram III.

Epigraphic Evidence from the Akko Coastal Plain and Western Galilee

Phoenician inscriptions from the region of the Akko coastal plain and western Galilee dated to the Persian period are rather few. Yet their mere presence indicate the likely spread of Phoenician cultural influence in the southern Levant.

Several fragmentary inscriptions come from Tell Keisan, a site located 8 km/5 mi east of the Mediterranean Sea.[52] These inscriptions are found on amphorae, jars, and weights, and they span the period from Iron Age II to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Very few of them are unmistakably datable to the Persian period, usually to the sixth century, and they are parallel linguistically to the inscriptions from Salamis and Kition.[53]

Although filling the epigraphic gap for Persian-period Tell Keisan, these inscriptions are difficult to use in historical reconstructions in view of the fact that they are very few, fragmentary, and short.

Of greater import and usefulness is a text incised on an ostracon from Akhziv. The inscription broadly dated to the fifth–fourth century BCE contains a dedication(?) (L?) ʾDNMLK ("to (for) my lord who is king"). Based on the observation that the inscription bears a similarity to an inscription on a jar from Cyprus dated to the sixth century BCE,[54] it is possible to assume that in the Persian period Akhziv maintained cultural and economic connections with Cyprus, likely with Phoenician enclaves there. The data, however, is inconclusive to trace such connections in detail.

Akko yielded a remarkable Persian-period ostracon with a Phoenician inscription of seven lines. The ostracon represents an official order from a keeper of the temple for vases of different categories placed with a group of artisans:[55]

1. By order: to the guild of (metal?) artisans; they shall give a valuable basin
2. to חלש [*sic*], the overseer of the shrine(s); (likewise they shall give) metal cups (golden?)
3. 10, and vessels with inlay (round ringstands?) 25, and large
4. pyxides 70, and pots (on stands)
5. 60, and decanters 60, and
6. smiths' blown vessels 57
7. and small deep bowls 30.

(from Dothan 1985a: 83)

Dothan noted that from a linguistic and paleographic point of view, the inscription shows considerable linguistic similarity with inscriptions from Kition, especially with the Tariff Inscription,[56] and contains several Greek words that made their way into Phoenician.

Several observations regarding the Akko temple itself are worth mentioning. Although it survives only in the well-built wall, the cultic remains found alongside the ostracon indicate connections between the temple and Cyprus. Those remains include "zoomorphic and anthropomorphic male and female figurines, feet of broken statues and the lower part of a seated goddess inscribed with Cypriote syllabary(?) signs."[57] At the same time, the linguistic connections between the ostracon and the Tariff Inscription, in addition to the well-established ties between Kition and Tyre, point to the likelihood that the temple in Akko was Tyrian. Nevertheless, some uncertainties regarding the definite Tyrian connection of the temple still remain. For example, the name of the deity is suspiciously absent from the Akko inscription. Although Dothan (1985a: 86) explains

this absence by proposing that several shrines were referred to in the same inscription, we should mention that most inscriptions coming from Achaemenid Phoenicia that we have surveyed thus far bear the name of a deity, either directly or through the use of theophoric names. Keeping this in mind, we can still propose that the inscription points to the developed trade between Akko and Cyprus and the Phoenician, possibly Tyrian, religious influence in the Akko area during the Persian period.

In general, the epigraphic evidence from the Akko coastal plain and Western Galilee suggests tangible economic and cultural impact that the core Phoenician city-states exerted on the southern Levant. The presence of a temple dedicated to a Tyrian deity in the Akko area, for example, would illustrate this kind of impact by the city-state of Tyre.

Phoenician Inscriptions from Sites Elsewhere in Palestine

Phoenician inscriptions from Achaemenid-era Palestine are fairly numerous and they demonstrate a high level of engagement on the part of Phoenicians in the affairs of Palestine. Among the most significant finds are several inscriptions from Tell Dor, a number of bronze weights incised with Phoenician letters from the area of Ashkelon, and several Phoenician inscriptions from such primary coastal sites as Tell Abu-Hawam, Jaffa, as well as from the inland sites of Miẓpe Yamim and Wadi Daliyeh.[58] Most of the above-mentioned inscriptions constitute trade records and as such they inform us of Phoenician involvement in Palestine without providing much further detail. The sheer number of Phoenician inscriptions in Palestine indicates that the Phoenician presence in Palestine was widespread and indigenous, i.e., that Phoenicians dwelled at these sites not only the Persian period, but throughout the first millennium BCE. Another intriguing possibility is that these sites have always been, in a sense, Phoenician, since the difference in material culture artifacts of the southern Levant and the core Phoenician sites is negligible. For example, many similarities between Phoenician and southern Levantine domestic architecture have allowed scholars to understand Phoenician domestic architecture in the southern, Palestinian tradition rather than as an entirely unique style.[59]

Secondary Epigraphic Sources

Apart from Phoenician inscriptions, several other epigraphic categories contribute to our understanding of the social world of Achaemenid Phoenicia. Among them are inscriptions from Phoenicia in languages other than Phoenician (including all its dialectal variants) and inscriptions on seals.

Inscriptions in Other Languages

The area of Phoenicia proper yielded several inscriptions dated to the Persian period in languages and dialects other than Phoenician. Among them are inscriptions in Aramaic, Paleo-Hebrew, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, and Akkadian.[60] Their number, however, is small and they are, for the most part, fragmentary. Greek and Cypriot inscriptions dated to the Persian period found in Phoenicia are relatively more numerous, although their discovery (and scholarly interest in them) is still a rather rare and recent phenomenon.[61] Their importance cannot be overstated, though, given that the proliferation of Greek and Cypriot epigraphic finds, if written by foreigners as opposed to Phoenicians writing in Greek, would hint at the increasing presence and penetration of Aegean culture into the Levant in general and Phoenicia in particular during the Persian period. Merchants from the Aegean residing in the Phoenician city-states either temporarily or permanently would most likely be responsible for such cultural penetration. Whatever the reason, the presence of Greek-speaking peoples in Achaemenid Phoenicia would indicate both the close interaction between Phoenician and Aegean cultures and also the social climate emerging in the Persian period characterized by multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism.

Having stated this, we should note that Greek inscriptions discovered in Phoenicia are for the most part limited to graffiti on Greek vases, either imported or produced locally, which carry trade records.[62] For example, excavations at Beirut yielded several Greek graffiti incised on fragments of Attic vases,[63] which possibly served as writing materials for Greek or Greek-speaking merchants visiting or residing in Beirut in the Persian period. In addition to inscribed vases, the Syro-Phoenician coast yielded several inscribed lead weights in the shape of a truncated quadrangular pyramid with short Greek inscriptions dating from the end of the Persian period/beginning of the Hellenistic period.[64] Greek inscriptions proper, however, are extremely rare as they are represented only by several examples from Tell Dor.[65] The same rarity characterizes Cypriot inscriptions, the most notable of which is a votive scapula discovered at Tell Dor with an inscription incised in syllabic Cypriot of the Paphian type which was made by a Cypriot pilgrim.[66]

Clearly, more work should be done in the area of discovery of Greek and Cypriot inscriptions in Phoenicia and placing them in appropriate cultural contexts. At this point of research, however, we would suggest that the extant inscriptions confirm the notion of the cultural and economic

exchange between Cyprus, the Aegean, and the Phoenician mainland in the Persian period.

Inscriptions on Seals

Phoenician seals have become an object of intensive inquiry only recently, possibly owing to the lively interest they have generated in the antiquities market. One of the recent developments in study of *inscribed* Phoenician seals, few in number and difficult to date,[67] has been a shift from a purely philological inquiry into an interdisciplinary enterprise where the interplay between images and texts is analyzed and evaluated. Such analysis now involves paleographers and linguists who strive to come to a better understanding of the religious, social, and political history of the Levant, Phoenicia in particular.[68]

In spite of the lively interest, the study of inscribed seals is difficult, one of the complicating factors being their dispersion throughout numerous private and public collections.[69] Because seals are prized for their artistic value and, therefore, are highly sought after, such important information as their exact provenance is often missing; once removed from their immediate archaeological context, seals are hard to date. Nevertheless, scholars have used them in socio-historical studies, several examples of which we will cite here.

On the basis of "a rock-crystal scarab with an archaic Greek motif and a Phoenician inscription reading 'BK' (for 'BDMLK,' 'servant of the King')," Gubel (1993: 122–23) advances a proposal concerning the increasing influence of Greek art in Achaemenid Phoenicia. Another socio-historical conclusion by Gubel (1993: 114) is based on a clay pellet with the image of a dolphin and the 'NT TMT ("by grace(s) of Tanit") formula on the obverse and a sun-disk flanked by two sacred serpents on the reverse. Gubel sees a connection between the imagery and the inscription on the pellet and the "tithe" seals used by the Tyrian administration of the fourth century BCE as attesting to the payment to Tyre of taxes collected in the territories of Tyre and Sidon.[70]

Gubel (1993) makes several other conclusions on the basis of Phoenician seals from the Persian period. First, given the low percentage of inscribed seals compared to the total glyptic repertoire, he proposes that only the top echelons of the society such as administrative officials and wealthy merchants would have possessed seals with their names on them. Second, he notes that from the late seventh century onward, Phoenician inscribed seals declined in number. Third, toward the end of Persian period there is a decline in the naturalistic themes on the seals, superseded by "the

inscriptions associated with the iconographical emblems of power."[71] Finally, Gubel points out that the period between the latter half of the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE was characterized by "the distinct preference for seals with Greek motifs" (1993: 126).[72] Taking all of the above-mentioned tendencies *in toto*, Gubel proposes a thesis about the declining autonomy of the Phoenician city-states beginning from the seventh century onward. Additionally, the preference for seals with Greek motifs at the time when Phoenicia was incorporated into the Achaemenid Fifth satrapy signals to Gubel a political statement aimed at a Phoenician disassociation from the Persian rule.

As intriguing as Gubel's proposals might be, they hardly correspond to the more likely scenario of an amicable association of Phoenicians with Persian authorities. Whereas it is true that the period between the sixth–fourth centuries saw a struggle for domination between the Greeks and Persians, the Phoenicians being loyal collaborators of the latter, it does not necessarily mean that the Phoenicians were hostile to the Greeks or their achievements in the area of arts. Even if the incorporation of Phoenicia into the Persian empire had put a dramatic and painful end to their autonomy (which is hardly the case), their turn to the Greek language and iconographic repertoire was more likely a manifestation of their acceptance and, perhaps, admiration of Aegean cultural and economic achievements rather than an act of insolence against their Persian overlords.

We believe the answer to the dilemma presented by glyptic evidence is much simpler than Gubel's elaborate explanation. It is likely that the Greek cultural and artistic influence spread so pervasively in the Levant during the Persian period, especially toward the latter part of it, that it affected both artistic tastes and linguistic preferences of the owners of such seals. One manifestation of such preferences in language is a Greco-Phoenician seal of the *Hermes the Shepherd* type, which appears to bear the divine name "Baal," the first two letters of which were written in Phoenician and the third in Greek.[73] Whether this was a mistake or a deliberate stylistic preference is unknown. What is clear, however, is the fact that the engraver of the seal knew Greek writing and the owner of the seal might have possibly ordered it this way for commercial purposes.

In closing our brief discussion of the glyptic evidence, we would like to address a correlation between inscribed seals and literacy. Contrary to Gubel, who sees the number of inscribed seals decline, Millard (1991: 105–06) proposes that although the number of inscribed seals coming from Phoenicia is low, there is still enough evidence to conclude that this number was growing from the eighth century onward. He interprets this process as

a possible indication that a wider audience could recognize and read them, thus indicating growing levels of literacy in Phoenicia.[74] This argument is significantly weakened by Millard's own admission that the writing might have been superfluous on the seals as most Phoenician seals bore an image of some kind. Therefore, without the support of other material remains, inscribed seals are insufficient to make decisive conclusions regarding the rise of literacy levels in Achaemenid Phoenicia.

By the way of summary of this discussion, we would like to state that although Phoenician inscriptions on seals can provide unclear socio-historical information, they generally affirm our conclusions regarding the considerable level of intercultural exchange taking place in the Levant and peaceful coexistence and cooperation between Phoenicians and Persians. They also allow us to speak with more confidence of the atmosphere of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism not only in Phoenician societies but also in the entire Levant.

Tertiary Epigraphic Evidence: Phoenician Inscriptions Outside of Phoenicia Proper

Although Phoenician presence outside of the traditional Phoenician territories goes beyond the scope of this study, several inscriptions from outside of Phoenicia proper contribute to the picture of the socio-political situation in Achaemenid Phoenicia. Taken in combination with classical sources and epigraphic evidence from the Phoenician mainland, they confirm the preferential treatment allotted to Sidon by Persian kings and the decline of Phoenician influence in Cyprus in the fifth century BCE.

The first piece of evidence that we will use is the inscription from Piraeus in Greece (KAI 60), the longest Phoenician inscription found in that country:[75]

1. On the fourth day of the feast, in the fourteenth year of the people of Sidon, it was resolved by the Sidonians in assembly: – to crown
2. Shamaba'al son of MGN, who (had been) a superintendent of the community in charge of the temple and in charge of the buildings in the temple court,
3. with a golden crown worth 20 darics sterling, because he (re-)built the temple court and did all
4. that was required of him by way of service; – that the men who are our superintendents in charge of the temple should write this decision
5. on a chiselled stele, and should set it up in the portico of the temple before the eyes of men; – (and) that the community should be named

6. as guarantor. For this stele the citizens of Sidon shall draw 20 drachmae sterling from the temple treasury.
7. So may the Sidonians know that the community knows how to requite the men who have rendered
8. service before the community.

(from Gibson 1982: 149)

One of the first difficulties in interpreting the inscription is the fact that the date of the inscription is unknown. Since no Sidonian community in Greece was known before 111 BCE, the inscription from Piraeus was long thought to have come from the first century BCE (96 BCE). Although not without resistance, Gibson (1982: 148) revised this date to the third century BCE based on the paleographic and lexical similarity of the inscription to other smaller inscriptions from the area. Given that no other collaborating evidence exists yet regarding a Sidonian settlement in Greece in the third century BCE, Gibson proposes that "there must, therefore, have been an earlier Sidonian era now lost to us." Since the date of the inscription is uncertain, we may assume that it could possibly date to even earlier than the third century BCE, possibly the end of the fourth century BCE, as Baslez and Briquel-Chatonnet (1991) have proposed. Moreover, in Line 3 the inscription mentions Persian *darics* (BDRKNM), which were used in Greece throughout the Persian period (but also as late as the Macedonian age; see Gibson 1982: 150). Therefore, the uncertainty of the inscription does not preclude us from suggesting that an established and visible Sidonian community existed in Greece sometime in the fourth–third centuries BCE and that it was able to maintain its religious and cultural identity. The same community accepted with ease traditions of the surrounding culture by fashioning the resolution after similar Greek inscriptions and adopting the Greek procedure of voting on a crown and a monument. If such a community did, indeed, exist, then we can speak of the spread of Sidonian outposts in the Aegean and a special protected status of such outposts under the Persian empire or Alexander's empire; details of the community's origin, organization, and function, however, are unknown to us.

Another important inscription provides additional information regarding the spread of Sidonian influence beyond the confines of the Phoenician mainland. This source, which J. Elayi and Sapin (1998: 95) mistakenly identify as KAI 60, is the decree of an Athenian politician Cephisodotus (Kephisodotos) in honor of the King of Sidon Straton (Abdashtart I) dated to the first half of the fourth century BCE (*ca.* 366–360 BCE), the period preceding Tennes's revolt against Persia.[76] The bi-partite

inscription in Greek is engraved on a marble stele discovered on the Acropolis, beside the Parthenon:[77]

> [Resolved by the Boule and the Demos of the Athenians, since Strato ...] and has taken care that envoys, whom the people (of the Athenians) sent, should proceed to the King as best as possible; and to reply to the man who has come from the king of the Sidonians that for the future if he is a benefactor of the Athenian people, it is not possible that he not obtain from the Athenians anything he lacks; and that the king of Sidon, both himself and his descendents [*sic*], be a proxenos of the Athenian people. Let the secretary of the Boule publish this decree on a stone stele within ten days and let it be put up on the acropolis; and for the cutting of the stele, let the treasurers give the secretary of the Boule thirty drachmas from the ten talent fund. Let the Boule make seals (to be sent to) the King of the Sidonians so that the people of the Athenians may know if the king of the Sidonians, needing something from the city, should send someone and so the king of the Sidonians might know when the people of the Athenians send someone to him. Let the man who has come from the king of the Sidonians be called [*sic*] hospitality in the prytaneion [City Hall] tomorrow.
>
> Menexenos made a motion: everything else that Kephisodotos moved (with the additional provision that): as many Sidonians, residing in Sidon and being citizens, as live in Athens for trade, let them be exempt from the Metic tax, choregic duties, and the eisphora [an income tax levied only in extraordinary cases].
> (from Moysey 1975: 245)

The two parts of the inscription are Cephisodotus' decree and Menexenos' motion regarding Sidonians staying in Athens; it informs us about the intermediary role played by Sidon in the relations between Athens and the Persians, the manifestation of proxeny,[78] and the privileged status of the Sidonian negotiators in Athens. It is unclear whether the visit of the Sidonian King was a political move aimed at securing Greek support for possible future insurrections of Sidon against the Persian empire, although the scenario is possible. If that was the case, the visit would signal the beginning of the deterioration of relations between the Sidonian royalty and the Great King. Indeed, just a few years after Straton's visit (*ca.* 346/5 BCE) another king of Sidon, Tennes, revolted against the Great King (Diodorus Book XVI.41).[79] Whatever the political motivations of the visit were, however, we can safely state, however, is that the visit of the Sidonian royalty received high honors from the Athenian populace, the earlier Sidonian support of the Persians seemingly forgotten, and signified the elevated position of Sidon among other Phoenician city-states.

A few words need to be said about Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus. Reyes (1994: 125) made a general observation about them: "Brief and fragmentary as they are, these inscriptions do not specify the details of the contact between the Phoenician mainland and Cyprus." This statement can easily be applied to Phoenician inscriptions dated to the Persian period. Still, these inscriptions, although rare, brief, and often fragmentary, show unmistakable, yet unspecific, ties of the cities in Cyprus, primarily Kition and Idalion, with the Phoenician mainland.

Among the more significant Phoenician inscriptions found in Persian-period archaeological contexts are the Temple Tariffs A, B (KAI 37) from Kition (mid-fifth century BCE), a Phoenician victory trophy from Kition from the early fourth century BCE, an inscription from Idalion (*ca.* 390 BCE, KAI 38), and the "SKN of Tyre" inscription without provenance dated *ca.* fourth century BCE.[80] Together with inscriptions from earlier periods and undated inscriptions from various sites on Cyprus (Ayia Irini, Golgoi, Idalion, Khirokitia, Chytroi, Kition, Kourion, and Salamis), they show the cultural and religious proximity of Cypriot cities to the Phoenician mainland (e.g., the cult of Astarte at Kition, KAI 37).[81]

On the other hand, epigraphic finds from Cyprus indicate that throughout the first millennium cities there had extensive contacts with the Greek mainland as well, and those contacts intensified during the Persian period. The possibility of concerted efforts by Greek writers to include Cyprus in the Greek world, as noted in Chapter 1 of this study, find further support in epigraphic finds. A telling example is an inscription from the island of Chios off the coast of Greece dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE. The inscription contains the genealogy of a certain Heropythos listing 14 ancestors starting with a man by the name "Kyprios" ("the Cypriot").[82] Evidently, it was important enough for the author of the inscription to start tracing Heropythos' ancestry from a man from Cyprus and to incorporate Cypriot roots into the family history. Combined with the testimony of classical sources, this example indicates the increasing bidirectional cultural influence of the Aegean and the island of Cyprus starting in the fifth century BCE, accompanied by waning ties with the Phoenician mainland.

In brief, Phoenician inscriptions outside of Phoenicia proper suggest a broad network of Phoenician connections with the world beyond the Levantine mainland. Those connections fluctuated throughout historical periods reflecting changing political fortunes, developing or disintegrating alliances, and, at the same time, the significant cultural and economic influence of the Phoenician city-states beyond their immediate borders.

A Social Picture of Phoenicia from Epigraphic Evidence: A Synthesis

Before we started a review of epigraphic evidence from Achaemenid Phoenicia, we posed several questions, which, if answered, could have provided a comprehensive picture of social life in Phoenicia. However, at the end of this overview we have to admit that most of those questions are impossible to answer exhaustively at the current state of research and based on the available evidence. For example, out of the three central social units of the household, the city-state, and the administrative unit of the Persian empire on which this social history concentrates, only the latter two are addressed in the epigraphic evidence. The explanation for the lack of information regarding the level of the household has something to do with the character of available inscriptions. The function of many inscriptions necessitates their form: as scholars have noted, the ritual of inscribing encouraged the result it described.[83] Therefore, the preoccupation of the funerary and votive Phoenician inscriptions with "higher culture" that dealt with religious and political matters was at the expense of the details of civic life.[84] At the same time, although scholars have noted that epigraphic evidence may not only distort the historical information but also contradict it completely,[85] this tendency is not evident from a close analysis of Phoenician inscriptions from the Persian period. On the contrary, these inscriptions provide a more detailed description of the socio-political atmosphere in Phoenicia of that era. They allow us to make conclusions regarding religious affiliations of Phoenician city-states, the level of literacy within those city-states, the political organization of Phoenician city-states, and their relationships with the Persian empire and other cultures.

We know very little about the religion of Phoenician city-states since the extant epigraphic evidence does not provide us with prayers, god lists, or other information useful in reconstructing cults. Nevertheless, Phoenician inscriptions inform us about the religious aspect of the Phoenician socio-political world in the Persian period. Among other things, these inscriptions emphasize the regional variety of deities worshiped in Achaemenid Phoenicia. As Markoe (2000: 115) has noted, the religious atmosphere among Phoenician city-states throughout most of their history was characterized by continuity, evident first and foremost in the duality of deities, male and female (e.g., Melqart and Astarte at Tyre, Baal and Baalat (the Mistress) at Byblos, and Eshmun and Astarte at Sidon). However, toward the middle and end of the Persian period the cults of Eshmun and Astarte of the Sidonian pantheon made their way into religious

environments of other Phoenician city-states, a process not generally attested prior to the Achaemenid period. This development was an indication of the increasing economic and political role among Phoenician city-states allotted to Sidon by the kings of Persia. Although the cult of Astarte and its numerous manifestations in the Near East were widespread throughout the first millennium BCE,[86] in Phoenicia it was mainly associated, at least before the Achaemenid period, with the city-state of Sidon. During the Achaemenid period, however, the cult spread throughout other Phoenician city-states.

Another aspect of the religious history of Phoenician city-states is involvement in religious affairs on the part of royalty. Not only did Phoenician royalty lend their support to temple infrastructure, but they also assumed sacerdotal functions. Such involvement was exclusively local as there appears no indication of any participation and direction of religious affairs on the part of Persian authorities; therefore, strictly external imperial control over religious life in Phoenicia is highly unlikely.

Several observations can be made regarding the degree of literacy and orality among Phoenician city-states. Scholars have proposed that starting with the eighth century forward, writing becomes relatively widespread throughout the cities of the Phoenician coast:

> Not until the eighth century B.C. are there noteworthy signs of a more widespread use of the alphabet among the Phoenicians. From this time onwards there are graffiti on pots, notes of content and owners' names. The latter are found in tombs and other contexts, and are clearly not votive. Their distribution in Phoenicia, elsewhere in the Levant, and further afield is evidence that reading and writing was not confined to palace and temple. (Millard 1991: 105)

In addition, the increasing in time number of inscriptions on seals and coins has been connected with considerable levels of literacy among the populace of Achaemenid Phoenician city-states:

> In the case of the Phoenician coastal cities, a certain number of clues allow us to think that quite a large part of the population was literate. In fact, if the various authorities issuing Phoenician coinage had taken the trouble to have an inscription on their money, when the decorative symbol would suffice for identification, it was because a large part of the users were able to read. (Elayi and Sapin 1998: 93–94).

The most likely reason for the spread of literacy in the Achaemenid Phoenician city-states, according to Elayi (1990a), was trade and the accompanying necessity to keep records. Elayi suggests that the coastal Phoenician city-states, as opposed to the interior regions, were more likely

to have higher percentages of literate population, owing to their extensive engagement in trade. Another cited possibility for the spread of literacy in Phoenician city-states during the Persian period, especially in the fourth century BCE, is the appearance of cursive writing;[87] several ostraca confirm the existence of cursive writing in ink.[88]

These arguments, as appealing as they might be, are insufficient to establish the existence of widespread literacy in Achaemenid Phoenicia. First, writing on seals and coinage does not mean that everyone using them was able to go beyond a simple recognition of signs and symbols. Furthermore, the use of writing in trade activities does not necessarily call for a full ability to read and write, since merchants need only a limited vocabulary of working terms. As for the cursive writing, the process could have been the opposite of the one proposed by Lemaire and Elayi (1987), i.e., use of a script by non-specialists might have led to the development of a cursive style by professional scribes as a method of social status differentiation between commoners and the elite.

Taken together, these observations allow us to suggest that there is no evidence for widespread literacy in Achaemenid Phoenicia, at least not across socio-economic classes. Literacy appears to have been a privilege of the elite, or, more likely, the specialist-scribes who were responsible for the dispersing of messages of the elite and royalty. These specialists used the same variant of the North-West Semitic language, Standard Phoenician,[89] maintaining at the same time the individual writing styles and dialectal differences of their city-states. Another factor is that bilingualism could have been a characteristic of some of the scribes, as the Byblian inscriptions in both Greek and Phoenician suggest.

The very use of writing as a complex and unattainable system of communication in addition to the pictorial image, the likes of which we have seen on the Yehawmilk Stele, might have served a means of reiterating to the commoners their own social status. As Michalowski has suggested (1990: 65), such a use of writing as a means of controlling communication in a society with restricted literacy could have possibly been a way for the ruling elite to maintain power and social control in their society.

Epigraphic evidence also sheds some light on the relationship between the Persian-period Phoenician city-states and the Persian empire. One of the recent developments in Achaemenid studies is the emergence of a notion of the Achaemenid power structure that is pervasive, image-conscious, and controlling through a wide array of iconic and written means (e.g., Briant 2002). The extant Phoenician epigraphic evidence, however, shows no centralized imposition of outside control or supervision over the

social or political life of Achaemenid Phoenicia. On the contrary, Phoenician inscriptions from the Persian period point to the autonomous character of Phoenician city-states. In Byblos, for example, political perturbations were more an internal development rather than a result of the involvement of imperial authorities. Furthermore, epigraphic evidence suggests that as a result of a ready involvement of the Sidonian royalty in military campaigns of the Persian Kings, Phoenician city-states were included in some administrative unit headed by the city of Sidon from the middle or the end of the fifth century BCE. Even with Sidon formally at the helm, Phoenician city-states were still headed by a member of the local royalty and were able to conduct their internal affairs unhindered. At times, that royal was a woman, as the inscription of Eshmunazor demonstrates. Above and beyond these general observations, epigraphic evidence provides little further information regarding further divisions within the local governments of Phoenician city-states.

In light of our overview of epigraphic sources it becomes clear that "engendered speech," in the words of Bodel (2001: 16),[90] of Phoenician inscriptions shows overwhelming compliance and cooperation with the Persian empire on the part of the royalty of Phoenician city-states. Their voice is that of autonomous kings in the service of the Great King, whose benevolence and patronage was acknowledged and revered. Phoenician sycophancy to the Persians emphasized by Greek and Latin authors finds internal confirmation through the voice of Phoenician kings themselves, who found protection and perquisites through compliance.

Even as the Persian period saw the Phoenician city-states developing amicable relationship with the Persian empire, it also witnessed the continuity of their ties with the rest of the Levant. Just as was the case throughout the entire first millennium BCE, Phoenician city-states were actively involved in the international political and economic affairs along the Levantine coast, in addition to various areas of the eastern Mediterranean. As Lemaire pointed out (1987; 1989: 93), Phoenician inscriptions found in Palestine demonstrate the vibrant Phoenician presence and the vitality of Phoenician commerce there. The spread of Sidon's political influence in the Persian period, alluded to in the inscription of Eshmunazor, was most likely the reason for the spread of Phoenician, or more precisely, Sidonian, economic and cultural influence in the Levant. Alternately, the process could possibly have been reversed – the already-established economic and cultural ties of Sidon with the Levantine coast could have been formalized with the handover of lands to Eshmunazor. Further research can possibly clarify this issue.

Chapter 3

Getting with the Program: Achaemenid Phoenicia through Numismatics

Unlike classical texts and epigraphic materials that provide narrative information regarding the history of Persian-period Phoenician societies, numismatic finds from Phoenicia help reconstruct a social history through means that are far less clear and that require additional interpretative steps. In this chapter, we will outline current trends, methodologies, and problems in the study of Phoenician coinage. We will also conduct an overview of the geographical distribution of monetary means in Achaemenid Phoenicia and provide a description of the activities of the main production centers in Phoenicia: Arwad, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre.[1] Finally, we will synthesize our findings by describing such socio-historical processes and phenomena under way in Persian-period Phoenician city-states as trade, economic development, and relationship with the Persian empire.

Phoenician Numismatic Studies: State of the Field

For many years, Phoenician numismatic studies were dependent upon and were advanced by Greek numismatics; it was scholars working on Greek coinage who established early on that Phoenician coins were produced sequentially by the four workshops of Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and Arwad starting in the middle of the fifth century BCE.[2] It is only in the last two decades or so that Phoenician numismatic studies have evolved from being largely dependent on Hellenistic studies to an independent field that is well integrated into other disciplines, such as economic and social history, archaeology, sociology, anthropology, and art history. To a large degree, such a process of placement of Phoenician numismatics into the interdisciplinary framework has followed the need for coins to be dated and placed geographically with more precision.

In spite of the increasing interest in numismatic finds in recent years and the progress that has been achieved, several large problems remain in the field of Phoenician numismatics, some having to do with the state of research, but most of them being rooted in the nature of numismatic evidence itself. Elayi and Sapin (2000) have already pointed the difficulties in Phoenician numismatics but they bear repeating here.

The first problem is the unavailability of up-to-date coinage catalogs. Most of the catalogs which would have otherwise provided a wealth of information regarding archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic discoveries in Achaemenid Phoenicia are outdated or simply lacking. The situation has somewhat improved recently with the publication of the catalog of Sidonian coinage by Elayi and Elayi (2004).

The second problem concerns the nature and intent of monetary hoards from which most numismatic finds originate, since nothing is usually known about the reason a hoard was hidden or buried. Such information could have provided valuable socio-historical information, including population stratigraphy, possible class distinctions, and reaction of the populace to political and social changes. Unfortunately, most of the time this data is unavailable. What we do have is statistical information about hoards in Phoenicia, which has been very helpful in determining the reasons for the emergence of coinage in Phoenician city-states.

The third problem in Phoenician numismatic studies is forgeries. As the economy developed in Phoenicia and as the population got accustomed to coinage as the main monetary instrument, counterfeit coinage appeared. As questionable as ancient forgeries can appear, they can still yield socio-historical information and we will address them in this chapter.

The fourth problem has to do with the realities of coin collecting. Most descriptions of Phoenician coinage come from catalogs of sale and one can hardly judge the true amount of coins coming from a particular site by the changing tastes of collectors, the fluctuations of the market for coins, spiking and diminishing demand, and successful sales of a certain specimen.[3]

Finally, the field of Phoenician numismatic studies has been advanced (rather regretfully, we might add) only by a handful of scholars. The limited diversification of available studies on Phoenician numismatics may be due either to the neglect of the field by some or the monopolization of the field by others. In any case, in absence of alternatives and other voices, one needs to exercise caution in research as biases and errors can easily be repeated over and over again.[4] Having said this, we should note that the present study is primarily based on the overviews and coinage descriptions by Elayi, Elayi, and Lemaire for the simple reason that they wrote most of the

Phoenician numismatic studies. Whenever possible and required, we will try to engage and debate their conclusions and assumptions.

Whereas some of the problems listed above cannot be avoided and a scholar can only be cognizant of them in his/her research, other problems can be remedied when new catalogs are published, when careful examination is made of numismatic evidence to determine its authenticity, and when one is aware of the peculiarities of Phoenician numismatic research. At this point, however, numismatic evidence from Achaemenid Phoenicia, to which we turn next, has sufficiently stabilized to contribute substantially to the social history of Phoenicia.

Methodologically, this study will rely on the three main numismatic criteria: iconography, metrology (study of coinage weight), and geographic distribution of coinage. Iconography of Phoenician coinage will primarily assist in revealing the political, religious, and social aspects of Phoenician city-states, whereas weight and geographic distribution of coinage will be utilized in making conclusions regarding their economies, with a contribution to other aspects when possible.[5] We will review Phoenician coinage from the Persian period in this chapter on the basis of the major studies by Betlyon, Destrooper-Georgiades, and J. Elayi[6] complemented by more up-to-date studies.

Phoenician Coinage from the Persian Period: The Primary Evidence

Numismatic evidence from Achaemenid Phoenicia is among the most complex to have emerged from the entire Transeuphratene area. Among complicating factors are the difficulty of accounting for the diversity of coinage that may come from the same area, problems of identifying iconographic typologies, and the insufficient precision of archaeological excavations which could have provided a better interpretive context for numismatic finds. Nevertheless, some general conclusions that have been made regarding Phoenician coinage are indispensable in mapping the field of Phoenician numismatics.

First, although debates are still continuing regarding the date when the first coins were struck and which of the Phoenician workshops took the initiative, scholars have largely come to a consensus that the Phoenicians developed minting of coinage relatively late, at least later than the Lydians and the Greeks.[7] Sometime in the middle of the fifth century BCE, four cities abandoned the use of weights as monetary units and started minting coinage: Byblos (*ca.* 460 BCE), Tyre (*ca.* 450 BCE), Sidon (*ca.* 440 BCE), and Arwad (*ca.* 430 BCE).[8] Although coinage of these cities has been

convincingly dated and described on typological grounds by numismatists working on coinage assemblages of both ancient Greece and Phoenician city-states, variations in identifying the order of introduction of coinage still exist and we will note them wherever possible.

Second, we should point out that Phoenician city-states, although maintaining economic trajectories that were independent from each other, still implemented several common features on their coinage. Among them are iconography that reflects maritime interests, silver and bronze (and never gold) as preferred materials, and a clear trend among Phoenician city-states to maintain a single weight standard, referred to by scholars as "Phoenician." Monetary workshops of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre generally emitted coinage according to this standard (approximately 13.9 g/0.49 oz.). There were, however, variations to the Phoenician standard, which occurred from time to time due to political perturbations in the region and changing economic affiliations. Another common feature of Phoenician coinage, as coin hoards found in Phoenicia demonstrate, is its primary use for the intraregional trade.[9]

Our third observation concerns the usefulness of different kinds of coinage to the writing of a social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia. We will regard coinage originating from Phoenician city-states as primary evidence, whereas we will treat coins of other provenance, i.e., foreign coins and Phoenician coins outside of Phoenicia proper as secondary evidence.

Moving on to our overview of coinage, it is necessary to point out that we have relied primarily on the more widely accepted dating schemes for the emergence of different series of Phoenician coinage. Since our goal is to trace major socio-political movements in the history of Achaemenid Phoenicia, we chose to concentrate primarily on the most characteristic and widely attested samples with fairly established chronological typologies.

Lastly, we used a good amount of numismatic terminology in the overview that follows and it is appropriate that we explain them. Some of the numismatic terms that this overview will use are the *obol*, the *tetrobol*, the *drachma*, the *tetradrachm*, the *stater*, the *daric*, the *siglos*, and the *shekel*. Most of these terms refer to weight of precious metals used in production of coinage. *Stater* in Greek lands is "that which balances the scales," *drachma* is "handful" (of objects to be weighed), and these terms are similar to the terms *shekel* and *siglos* (from "to weigh"), which are used in the Near East for denoting coinage (and weight).[10] The *obol* (from Greek "an iron spit") is considered the basic unit of currency in Greece; six *obols* always equal one drachma. The *stater*, minted in gold and silver, usually equals four *drachmas*. Some of these denominations can be used in

multiples; the *tetradrachm* is four *drachmas*. Although this breakdown of denominations is largely universal in the ancient Greek world and the Persian empire, the weight of coins varied significantly, depending on the economic situation and the exchange ratio between gold and silver.[11]

In addition to Greek coin denominations, this overview will also mention Persian *darics* and *sigloi*. The *daric* is a golden Achaemenid coin, which was introduced by Darius I, complemented by the silver *siglos*; the exchange rate between the *daric* and the *siglos* was 1:20.[12] Each *daric* weighed 8.4 g/0.3 oz., was 98% pure gold, and equaled one *shekel*, whereas a *siglos* weighed 11.2 g/0.4 oz. and was more than 90% silver.[13] Scholars have presumed that the theoretical ratio of value between silver and gold in the Persian period was about 13.3:1, the exchange rate between the *daric* and the Attic *drachm* was 1:25,[14] and, if Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.5.6) is to be believed, the exchange rate between the *siglos* and the Attic *obol* was 1:7.5. In the Persian period, Phoenician city-states minted coins that corresponded both to the Greek (Attic) and Persian (sometimes referred to as Persic) standards. It is not unusual for a city-state to produce both *tetradrachms* and *shekels*, as was the case with Tyre.

Table 3.1. Weight standards for ancient coins

Standard	*Denomination*	*Weight*
Attic	Tetradrachm	17.2 g
	Stater or didrachm	8.6 g
	Drachm	4.3 g
Phoenician	Tetradrachm or dishekel	14+ g
	Shekel	7+ g
Aeginetic	Stater	12.2 g
	Drachm	6.1 g
Persic	Gold daric	8.35 g
	Silver stater (4th century BCE)	~11 g
	Silver siglos (drachm)	5.35 g (until *ca.* 475 BCE, then 5.55 g
Corinthian	Stater	8.6 g
	Drachm	2.9 g
Achaean	Stater	~8 g
	Drachm	~2.6 g
Rhodian	Tetradrachm	~15.3–15.6 g
	Didrachm	~7.8 g
	Drachm	~3.9 g

From Kritt (2004: 106). Courtesy of Brian Kritt and *Numismatist* magazine.

Arwad

For several reasons, studies of coinage of Arwad only recently have emerged as a separate area of academic inquiry.[15] First of all, very little is known about the currency workshop in Arwad and the role the city played in the Persian period in general. Second, the exact date when coin minting in Arwad commenced is unknown, although the third quarter of the fifth century BCE (450–425 BCE) is suggested on typological grounds.[16] The types of Arwadian coinage, however, are described with more precision; Betlyon (1982) has noted that Arwadian authorities minted 1/16 obols, 1/8 obols, obols, diobols, tetrobols, tetradrachms, and staters at different times in the Persian period (for coinage examples, see Appendix A, 1–7). Taken together, various denominations and iconographic changes in Arwadian coinage will assist us in assessing the socio-political situation in Arwad during the Persian period.

The earliest coins from Arwad are anepigraphic, usually featuring an unidentified marine deity with a fish tail and a warship with oars on the reverse (Appendix A, 1). Although several identifications of this ichthyomorphic deity have been made, including "marine Dagan," "Phoenician Neptune," Melqart, or even Yamm,[17] a proposal by Elayi and Elayi (2005)[18] to identify the deity as "Ba'al Arwad" seems rather plausible. As for the galley/warship on the reverse of the coin, it can be either a manifestation of the image popular in Sidonian iconography (cf. the discussion regarding Sidonian coinage below), a borrowing from Persian iconography, which frequently featured galleys,[19] or simply a representation of Arwad's involvement in maritime trade.

From the very beginning, coinage of Arwad was fashioned in weight after the Persic (also called Babylonic) standard widely used throughout the Persian empire.[20] This standard was lighter than the standard adopted by other Phoenician city-states for their coinage. Scholars account for the difference by a firmer control by Persia over the city of Arwad as a valuable port, a different character of interactions of the Persian empire with Arwad, or an isolated status of Arwad from other Phoenician cities. The latter proposal, originally by Hill (1910: xxii), is more feasible than the others.

The notion of the isolated status of Arwad from other Phoenician city-states can be substantiated by the fact that several coins from Arwad are very close in weight to the Athenian tetradrachm.[21] Even Betlyon, who favors "the different relationship which Aradus had to the Persian court," admits that the Athenian coinage might have been a precursor to the Arwadian coinage (1982: 79). Given the general lack of traditional

Phoenician artifacts in the city (see Chapter 4) and its close geographic proximity to the city of Al Mina, a Levantine polity with a bustling Greek community,[22] the conclusion regarding a relatively distant economic, political, and cultural relationship of the city of Arwad with other Phoenician city-states and its closer relationship with Greece is to be favored. It does not mean, however, that the emergence of coinage at Arwad, especially with characteristics of Athenian coinage, or anywhere else in Phoenicia for that matter, was a manifestation of sedition or resistance to the Persian empire,[23] as can be possibly argued. It was a process engendered first and foremost by economic needs of Phoenician city-states in the Persian period.

Starting around 410–400 BCE, coinage from Arwad is inscribed with the letters M' *(mem-aleph)* (Appendix A, 2), which are usually interpreted as "from/of Arwad" or "king, of the kingdom of Arwad."[24] Although the addition of an inscription could possibly indicate a change in the coinage issuing authority, as Betlyon noted (1982: 83), such a proposal is impossible to prove given the current state of research.

At the juncture of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (*ca.* 400–380 BCE) coins from Arwad undergo considerable iconographic changes. Besides the face of the marine deity and the galley, they now feature a seahorse, possibly an "attendant" to the deity (Appendix A, 3). Later in the fourth century BCE (*ca.* 380–350 BCE) the head of the marine deity is fashioned in a "Hellenized" (as some scholars refer to it) manner and the image of the galley is complemented by the depiction of waves (Appendix A, 4), alphabetic letters, and, most importantly, numbers that correspond to the numbering system used in Sidon (Appendix A, 5).[25] Not only are iconographic changes introduced at this time but also new denominations of Arwadian coinage in bronze, probably to answer the demand of the market for smaller change.[26] Iconographically, bronze Arwadian coinage is reminiscent of the earlier Arwadian coinage (Appendix A, 7), and it most likely preserved not only the form, but also the meaning of images on the earlier coins.[27] Moreover, coins from this period exemplify the change in weight as they differ from the usual Persic weight standard (11 g for silver staters), corresponding more to the Attic weight standard (about 8.6 g for staters).[28]

In combination, the above changes in Arwadian coinage in the fourth century BCE reflect, in our opinion, societal developments in the city-state. Escalating internal problems in the Persian empire marked by wars for the throne left subject territories without strong Persian control in the first part of the fourth century BCE.[29] In this political situation, the royalty of

Arwad strove to foster closer relations and lively trade with the Greek West. Such development was not unknown among Phoenician city-states in the first half of the fourth century BCE, as Sidon had its representatives and envoys residing in Athens, according to the Athenian decree of Cephisodotus (see Chapter 2). The fact that only one example of an Arwadian coin corresponding to the Attic standard exists possibly suggests that only a few such coins were struck and that this alignment with the Greek West was short-lived; alternative explanations include among others, of course, the scarcity of available specimens for one reason or another.

Following Artaxerxes III's military action against Sidon in the middle of the fourth century BCE, which probably affected other Phoenician city-states, no coinage was minted in Arwad for several years. Only with the resumption of trade and the appointment over Phoenicia of Mazaeus, the satrap of Cilicia, did Arwad resume minting coinage (*ca.* 348/7–338 BCE). The last series of Arwadian coinage (Appendix A, 6) bears inscriptions that stand for the initials of a ruler, possibly governor Gerostratus (*ca.* 339/8–332 BCE) who was, according to Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* (II 13.7ff.), peacefully deposed after Alexander's army had entered Arwad.[30]

In brief, coinage from Arwad points to the city's close association through long distance trade with the Greek West and Sidon in the first half of the fourth century BCE. Additionally, the volume and distribution of Arwadian coinage, which changed over time, suggest not only increasing economic activity in the city in the fourth century BCE but also an overall limited economic and political importance of the city among Persian-period Phoenician city-states. As coin hoards from the Levant demonstrate, the geographical distribution of Arwad's coinage was wide but numerically very limited and primarily intra-territorial,[31] indicating that Arwad's economic activity did not spill over too far beyond its borders.

Tripolis

Only one coin attributed to a Tripolis workshop exists (see Appendix A, 20). The coin is a didrachm of the Attic weight standard featuring a Phoenician galley and an inscription *'TR*, possibly the initials of the name of the city.[32] On the reverse, the coin features a lion standing on the ground and a *thymiaterion* (an incense burner) above it. The iconography of the coin is unclear, although the galley is a familiar element on coinage from Phoenician city-states.

Understandably, the fact that only one coin is attributed to a workshop in Tripolis raises doubts regarding the existence of such a workshop in the first place.[33] However, if it did exist, it was probably established some time

in the first half of the fourth century BCE, when there was a widespread movement throughout Phoenician city-states toward greater disassociation from Persian authorities, as the dominance of indigenous Phoenician images on the coin suggests.

Byblos

Based on the limited number of numismatic finds from Byblos (see Appendix A, 8–10), most of which are represented by a repertoire of 1/32 shekels, 1/16 shekels, 1/4 shekels, 1/2 shekels, and full shekels, scholars note a rather insignificant status of the city in the Persian period.[34] At the same time, even these chance finds indicate the atmosphere of religious syncretism and the pervasive Sidonian influence on the culture of the city of Byblos in the Persian period, especially in the fourth century BCE.

Using iconographic typology, scholars usually date the first coinage of Byblos to *ca.* 460 BCE.[35] The first Byblian coinage features a seated or lying sphinx wearing the double crown of Egypt on the obverse and variably an enigmatic symbol identified by Destrooper-Georgiades (1987) as a "double lotus" (or, as Betlyon calls it, the "lightning bolt of Ba'al Hadad"; see Appendix A, 8), a helmeted head, a vulture over a body of a ram, or the Egyptian scepter on the reverse. The exact significance of these symbols is unclear, although a Byblian tribute to traditional Egyptian cultural connections seems a likely explanation. Equally complicated is the meaning of the inscription *GKʿ-MY* found on the Byblian coinage dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE.[36]

Toward the end of the fifth–beginning of the fourth century BCE, coinage from Byblos changes typologically and rises in value, switching from the initial Attic weight standard to the Phoenician weight standard.[37] It now features a galley with soldiers on the obverse and variably a sitting lion, the Egyptian scepter, a griffon, or a vulture over a ram engraved in incuse (see Appendix A, 9). The latter technique of hammering an image on a coin was popular among various Phoenician mints in *ca.* 430–385 BCE and it assisted scholars date the Byblian coinage of this series.[38]

From the beginning of the fourth century BCE until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE, Byblian coinage features a series of stacked upon each other images on the obverse, among them a murex shell, a winged seahorse, and a galley. The reverse frequently depicts a lion devouring a bull and an inscription with a full or abridged name of the king of the city; the currency workshop in Byblos has provided us with a rather full list of the kings of the city, some of which are unknown outside of numismatic finds.[39] Additionally, coinage from Byblos, along with the

inscription of Batnoam, has allowed scholars to reconstruct the order of succession of the latter kings of Byblos: Elipaol, Azbaal, Addirmilk, and Aynel.[40] The coinage of the last king of Byblos before the conquest of Alexander the Great, Aynel, includes the name of the city along with his name (*ʻYNL MLK GBL*). Elayi and Sapin (1998: 88) interpret this inclusion as a major development that signaled a changing social situation in the city, where the civic community's role increased to the detriment of the royal power. This conclusion, however, is unwarranted since the coinage of other kings of the city adhered to the same royal formula, e.g., *ʻZB'L MLK GBL, 'DRMLK MLK GBL*.[41] Whereas it is tempting to extract the maximum of socio-political information, some of the data is just not there.

Several other features of Byblian coinage, however, do allow us to make observations regarding the socio-political atmosphere in Achaemenid Byblos. The very fact that coinage was minted in Byblos in the Persian period indicates that the city continued its age-old business of overseas trade and engaged in local Phoenician trade, providing, most likely, its traditional product of cedar wood for the extensive flotillas of Sidon and Tyre. Though not as important a trade center as Sidon and Tyre, Byblos nevertheless was able to hold its own among the Phoenician city-states. The continuity of coinage minting in Byblos, without major disruption, as Betlyon noted, indicates that the city was able to avoid any major turmoil in the Persian period, with the rare exception of the middle of the fourth century, the time of the revolt of Tennes.

From the iconographic point of view, coinage from Byblos evinces a syncretistic amalgamation of images of Egyptian, Greek, Sidonian, and Persian origin. Egyptian iconography on Byblian coinage is manifested in frequent depictions of the sphinx and the "double crown of Egypt" and a general typological proximity of the iconography of Byblos to Egyptian engraving traditions.[42] Greek iconographic traditions were emulated in Byblos as well, which is apparent from the utilization of the image of the lightning bolt that appears on some Greek coinage from the middle of the fifth century BCE;[43] Byblos also used the Attic weight standard.

In addition to somewhat predictable images from Egyptian and Greek iconographic repertoires, Byblian coinage bears images which allow us to speak tentatively of the adoption in Byblos of Sidonian pantheon. Scholars have pointed out that the worship of Asherah, the goddess whose confluence with Astarte (the traditional patroness of the city of Sidon, noted in Chapter 2) is not unexpected, was frequently accompanied iconographically by the lion image.[44] Lion iconography, which also shows up on decorative elements (e.g., in the vicinity of the rectangular platform



Figure 3.1. Lion and bull symplegma on the Apadana at Persepolis. From Root (2002: 194 (Figure 5.6)). Photo by M. C. Root reproduced with permission of the author.

in the northeast sector of the city walls; see Appendix B V), was possibly a way for the royalty of Byblos to emphasize the city's close economic association with the city-state of Sidon (Figure 3.1).

After a short departure from the lion iconography from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth century BCE, when the image of a vulture over the body of a ram was dominant on Byblian coinage, the lion iconography reappears in full force from the second quarter of the fourth century BCE. On that coinage, dated by Betlyon (1982: 118) to *ca.* 365–350 BCE, the image is different in that the lion is now seen bringing down the bull. Although this image could be interpreted as a representation of the Phoenician in general, or Byblian in particular, struggle for greater autonomy in its economic affairs and, therefore, a covert challenge to Persian authority, traditional connections with Iranian iconography are more likely. As Root (2002: 201–03) has demonstrated, ancient Iran had had a long tradition of implementing imagery of a lion attacking a bull, goat, deer, or other horned animal. In Achaemenid Persia, the image of a lion attacking a bull appears on the facades of major palatial edifices at Persepolis (see Figure 3.1). As a powerful image of the Achaemenid empire which presents the union of the lion and the bull "in a symbolic landscape of abundance signifying the combined powers of nature brought together by and for the Achaemenid empire,"[45] the lion and bull image can be interpreted as an example of the willful adoption of the Persian imperial iconography by Achaemenid Phoenician city-states.

In brief, the iconography of Byblian coinage hints at the atmosphere of cultural and artistic syncretism in Byblos and the flexibility of its royalty in

adapting the prevalent symbols of power and dominance. At times, the selection of images becomes so pregnant with meaning and so entrenched in indigenous traditions that determining the original source of inspiration is next to impossible.

Beirut

Although the existence of a currency workshop in Beirut was proposed in the past,[46] at present this notion has been largely abandoned. The hypothesis regarding the currency workshop at Beirut was based upon a single coin of dubious origin. Scholars have largely dismissed that proposal based on the insignificant status of Achaemenid Beirut and the lack of additional corroborating evidence.[47] Although noting the problem, we regard the question closed unless further evidence surfaces.

Sidon

There is no shortage of studies dedicated to Sidonian coinage of the Persian period,[48] and, for the most part, typology, weight standards, and production technology of Sidonian coinage have been settled at this point. Also established is the variety of Sidonian coin denominations, represented by 1/64 shekels, 1/32 shekels, 1/16 shekels, 1/4 shekels, 1/2 shekels, shekels, and double shekels (for examples, see Appendix A, BCE 11–19). One area where analyses based on numismatic evidence have been lacking is the character of interactions of Sidon with the Persian empire. It is precisely the relationship between Sidon and the Persian empire we seek to describe here in finer detail.

Historical Overview of Sidonian Coinage

The beginning of Sidonian coinage is generally placed around *ca.* 450–440 BCE, primarily on the basis of the currencies of Byblos and Tyre.[49] Although exact causes for the emergence of Sidonian coinage are unknown, economic necessity is among the most likely candidates.[50] We will address the issue of coinage introduction later in this chapter, but it bears noting here that such relatively late introduction of coin minting in Sidon points to the positive balance of trade that Sidon maintained with other Phoenician cities by producing and selling more goods than it was buying. When trade exchanges between Sidon and other Phoenician city-states intensified in the middle of the fifth century BCE and required finer means of economic exchange than barter and weights, Sidon started minting coinage.

From the inception of Sidonian coinage, one image appeared consistently on its obverse, a galley either with triangular sails (Appendix A, 11), with

partially furled sails (Appendix A, 12), without sails in front of fortifications (Appendix A, 13), or with oars and numbers above them, frequently interpreted as the years of rule of a Sidonian king (Appendix A, 14). The galley image appears on several other coinage types from Phoenician city-states, either as a reflection of the maritime interests of the population of Sidon, as an influence of Persian imperial iconography, or as a combination of both factors.

Images on the reverse of Sidonian coinage are more interesting from the iconographic point of view. The oldest coins with the denomination of a half-stater feature an iconographically complicated image of an archer (see Appendix A, 11) which is thought by scholars to represent variably, in Sidonian context, a deity in charge of protection of the city, a king of Sidon, or a Persian royal figure. The reverse side of the next series of coinage appearing *ca.* 430–425 BCE (of which several larger denominations have survived, including double staters) features a rider and his driver in a chariot pulled by horses (see Appendix A, 12). The same scene appears, with the addition of an ibex and the initials of the emitting king, on stylistically similar coinage, which was produced with higher technological precision and level of detail in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE (Appendix A, 13). The next series, dated to the end of the fifth century BCE, also features a chariot scene, only this time the chariot is followed by a person dressed in Egyptian garb and headgear (Appendix A, 14) or, later, in "Asiatic" or Greek clothing (Appendix A, 15). Several years later, in a move that chronologically coincides with the introduction of inscriptions on Arwadian and Byblian coinage, the issuing authority in Sidon starts minting the initials of the king above the chariot image.

The fourth century BCE brought about considerable changes in Sidonian coinage. The coinage of the first half of the fourth century BCE saw a diversification of denominations and images, some of the most representative images of that period being the archer and the lion standing upright (Appendix A, 16).[51] Additionally, bronze became a popular material in addition to traditional silver. The switch to the cheaper bronze was probably just an economic convenience since the bronze coins were of the same types as the silver ones (e.g., see Appendix A, 17).

The most drastic change, however, occurred during the reign of Abdashtart I (Straton I), king of Sidon in the second quarter of the fourth century BCE (*ca.* 372–362/361 BCE). His coins (e.g., Appendix A, 18) are markedly different from the previous coinage in iconography, the variety of denominations, technological perfection, and weight (Elayi and Elayi 2004a: 692). Some of the more widely attested coinage samples of Abdashtart

I include bronze tetradrachms of the Attic weight standard featuring a *tiarate* bearded head on the obverse and a galley accompanied by several numbers and the two letters *'B* (on the basis of which this coinage is attributed to Abdashtart I) on the reverse.

As epigraphic sources indicate, Abdashtart I's policies had an aim of fostering a closer economic and cultural exchange with Athens to the detriment of Sidon's relations with the Persian empire. Numismatic evidence provides further corroboration, if indirect, of his policy. The supposition that Abdashtart I's coinage changed over from the traditional Phoenician weight standard to the Attic one when Sidon was maintaining close economic and political ties with Athens (cf. the *Decree of Cephisodotus Honoring the King of Sidon, Abdashtart I,* Chapter 2) is striking. The change of standard, then, would signal a move toward greater economic independence from Persian authorities and a closer political alignment of Sidon, and possibly other Phoenician city-states, with Athens. Additionally, the devaluation of the Sidonian currency, exemplified by the change from a heavier standard to a lighter one, points to the considerable economic burden the city had to bear under the Achaemenids in the second quarter of the fourth century BCE. It is not surprising that Sidon, in a move to gain further autonomy, revolted against the Persians in 359 BCE, just as many other western satrapies did. The revolt was suppressed *ca.* 355 BCE by Artaxerxes III, who let Abdashtart I remain on the throne but placed the city under the supervision of Mazaeus, satrap of Cilicia.

Under the next king Tennes (351–347 BCE), Sidonian coinage decreases both in quality and quantity. Seeking the same path of independence as Abdashtart I before him, Tennes stages a revolt against the Achaemenids. Although the exact date of the insurrection is unknown, it has been proposed that in the year 347 BCE Mazaeus does not strike any coinage in Sidon, and it is that year when the revolt is brutally suppressed by Artaxerxes III.[52] After the revolt of Tennes, a foreign king is perhaps installed over Sidon, possibly Evagoras II of Salamis.[53] Mazaeus continues, however, to mint intermittently his coinage in Sidon. As the Persians complete a successful campaign against Egypt in 343–342 BCE, Sidon profits financially from being a Persian naval base so much so that the Sidonians are able to drive out whatever administrator is there and install their local king Abdashtart II. This last king of Sidon (342–333 BCE) witnesses the decline of the state, manifested by relatively limited and irregular monetary production. The decline of the political and economic situation of this period is exacerbated by the fact that the sympathies of the city are divided between Alexander the Great, whose fleet has several Sidonian galleys, and

Darius III, to whom Abdashtart II continues to pledge allegiance.[54] For such divided loyalty, Alexander deposes the last Sidonian king upon arrival of his troops there.

General Characteristics of Sidonian Coinage

As this short historical overview has demonstrated, the city-state of Sidon experienced its fair share of upheaval and socio-political changes throughout the Achaemenid period. It is no surprise that, subsequently, Sidonian coinage varies dramatically, its corpus including at least 2608 examples struck by some 27 different engravers.[55] Regardless, it is still possible to delineate general tendencies and trends in Sidonian numismatics.

The first striking feature of Sidonian coinage is its wide intrastate distribution among other Phoenician city-states and abroad. Of all the currencies struck in Phoenician city-states, only those of Tyre and Sidon enjoyed wide circulation in the Levant, with several samples found even in Anatolia, Persia, and Egypt.[56]

Second, production of Sidonian coinage, at least from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth century BCE, was regular, which can be partially explained by the increasing role that the city of Sidon played in the naval strategy of the Persian kings and by intense trade activity, since both demanded the constant flow of cash. Having to carry the heavy burden of the upkeep of the royal fleet that was docked at Sidon, the city minted coinage in order to support the military and economic infrastructure, which the empire entrusted to its loyal subject city-state.

Third, metrological studies demonstrate that as the political situation changed throughout the Levant, so did the weight and iconography of Sidonian coinage. The first Sidonian coins were minted with a weight standard of 12.83 g/0.45 oz., the value of Sidonian weights from as early as the eighth century BCE.[57] Toward the turn of the fourth century BCE, Sidonian coinage increased in weight to reach 14 g/0.49 oz., either in order to correspond in weight to the Tyrian shekel (possibly to make a political statement of Phoenician unity), or as a response to the increasing amount of trade in the region. Several decades later, as Phoenician city-states were experiencing the movement toward greater political and economic autonomy from Persia, Abdashtart I returned the Sidonian standard to its original value, abandoning the standardized Phoenician weight standard.

Fourth, iconography of Sidonian coinage reveals larger processes that transpired not only throughout the territory of Phoenicia but also elsewhere in the Persian empire. Although at times the exact origin or meaning of a

particular image from the Achaemenid iconographic repertoire is debatable (although strong resemblance to Assyrian images is striking),[58] scholars have pointed out that there appeared a concerted effort on the part of the empire to advance an iconographic program.[59] In Sidon, images employed by the Persian empire appear with greater regularity than anywhere else in Phoenicia, which suggests, in turn, a greater likelihood that the Sidonian royalty was particularly interested in emulating Achaemenid iconographic repertoire. The same phenomenon is not observed for other Phoenician city-states, Tyre in particular, where the image of the owl, a reflection of either traditional Near Eastern or Greek motifs, is prevalent.

Root (1990: 115) defines an artistic program as "an integrated enterprise in which overarching principles of design, style, and iconography are devised, codified, and then applied in a way that yields a coordinated whole." "Codified" implies a process of imbuing an image with meaning; in the imperial context the meaning would most often have to do with the notions of power and control. Codified images of the imperial program utilized in Persepolis were meant, according to Root (1990: 134), to "epitomize the ideology in visual terms" not only for the enjoyment of the Persian royalty, but for ambassadors and visitors. Ultimately, though, those images were meant to be disseminated among the peoples of the empire.

What does this program mean for imperial subjects? How were ideologically-loaded images spread among them? It is most likely that the dissemination of images took the form of cultural and artistic appropriation, an artistic process which can be manifested in several ways. Hart (1997: 138) provides the following definition: "Cultural appropriation occurs when a member of one culture takes a cultural practice or theory of a member of another culture as if it were his or her own or as if the right of possession should not be questioned or contested." This definition is close to what we understand by "cultural appropriation" with an added focus on political and ideological agendas. Similarly, Hendel (2005: 25) distinguishes between phenomena when "the foreign feature is fully domesticated and its foreign origin effaced" and when "the feature is only partially domesticated and its foreign flavor is retained." Still others speak of cultural appropriation taking a form of either mimicry, a process imbued with subversive humor or irony,[60] or inversion, a more systematic reversal of the discourse (or "the world-upside-down" tradition).[61]

Susceptible to foreign cultural trends, Achaemenid Phoenicia evinced a combination of several kinds of cultural appropriation. The process of appropriation of imperial images in Achaemenid Phoenicia is evident on the Sidonian coins featuring the chariot (see Appendix A, 12–14, 15, 17).

Overall, three main interpretations of the chariot scene have been proposed: the king of Sidon riding in his chariot, the king of Sidon paying respect to the Persian King by following the chariot on foot, or a cult procession of a local deity (Baal of Sidon, Eshmun, or Reshef) attended by the king of Sidon.[62] In our view, the second proposal best illustrates the penetration of Persian imperial ideology in Sidon and Sidon's response to it. Here is Babelon's (1910: no. 889) description of the chariot scene on Sidonian coinage (Appendix A, 13):

> The King of Persia standing in his chariot drawn by four horses galloping to the left; he is capped with the five-pointed kidaris and dressed in a candys; he raises and extends the right hand; the charioteer is in the chariot beside the king holding the reins in both hands. Beneath the horses, the carcass of an ibex.

Babelon's interpretation of the crowned figure on Sidonian coinage as the Achaemenid king follows the Achaemenid formula for portrayal of crowned king[63] and is a strong affirmation of the adoption of Persian imperial imagery in Sidon.[64] In the absence of any pervasive imperial control of Phoenicia, as we have observed in Chapters 1 and 2, it is sensible, in our view, to speak of appropriation by Sidon of Persian ideological program.

This is not to say, however, that there was an immediate connection between Sidonian coinage and the chariot image. Although at the present time there is no monumental image known in Achaemenid art that would actually feature the king riding in his chariot, the images of a king driven around in a chariot must have been very evocative, as Root (1989) suggested. There are, after all, images of empty chariots (for king and crown prince) on Wing B on the Apadana at Persepolis[65] indicating the vehicles the royalty arrived in for the ceremony. This indication alone suggests the significance of the chariot procession and appearance in state, even if there is no actual depiction of the king riding in a chariot. Similarly, images from the PFS corpus (dated on the basis of tablets to 509–494 BCE) also depict chariot scenes, but there is no representation of a scene of the king in state in his chariot–they are all hunting scenes (see Figure 3.2).[66]

Although the connection of the chariot image with the king himself is not exactly clear, the notion of the chariot-riding king appears important in Achaemenid imperial propaganda. For example, Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 8.3.13-14) writes:

> Next after these *Cyrus* himself upon a chariot appeared in the gates wearing his tiara upright, a purple tunic shot with white (no one but the king may wear such a one), trousers of scarlet dye about his legs, and a mantle all of purple. He had also a fillet about his tiara, and his kinsmen also had the same

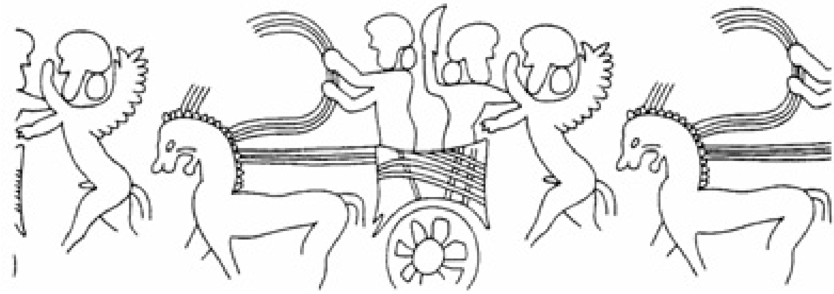


Figure 3.2. The chariot scene on the Persepolis Fortification Seal 96. From Garrison (2000: 150). Reproduced with permission of O. Keel.

> mark of distinction, and they retain it even now. His hands he kept outside his sleeves. With him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but neither in reality nor in appearance so tall as he; at all events, *Cyrus* looked much taller.

And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and so goodly to look upon; at any rate, no one of the Persians had ever prostrated himself before Cyrus before.

It appears that the King driven in a chariot was seen as an image of the victorious warrior towering above both his servants and his enemies. Sidonian royalty certainly made use of such powerful image.

The process, however, was not as simple as mere iconographic borrowing. There have been found pre-Achaemenid images of some Phoenician king riding a chariot. For example, a Cypriot-Phoenician bowl from Praeneste, Italy shows a king riding in a chariot with his hand on the driver's shoulder (see Figure 3.3).[67]

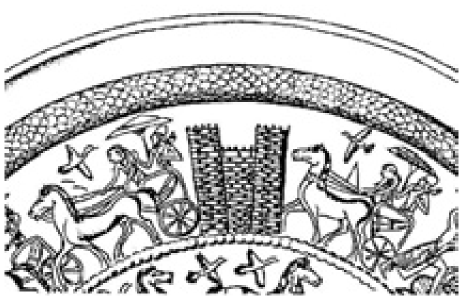


Figure 3.3. A Cypriot-Phoenician bowl from Praeneste with an image of the King in a chariot. Childs (1978: 54–56, Figure 29). Reproduced with permission of Princeton University Press.

Although iconographic and artistic connections between sites in the Mediterranean and the Phoenician mainland could have followed the impact of Phoenician trade there,[68] the case is far from settled. Regardless, even if the chariot image was not entirely new to Sidon, as an important image in official imperial iconographic program it was appropriated, evolving along the way. For example, it underwent addition of several figures one of which was the king of Sidon loyally following the imperial chariot, the detail expressing compliance on the part of the Sidonian royalty.

The case of appropriation becomes even stronger when we consider another popular motif on Sidonian coinage – the depiction of what is usually called a "heroic encounter" (or a "combat encounter"), in which a hero is confronting a beast, usually a lion.[69] Garrison and Root describe the scene as "one in which a protagonist exerts power or control over animals or creatures in a manner that explicitly transcends the plausible."[70] The hero of the scene can be "kingly," but, as Root argues, in its most generic form he is the ideological construct of an ideal "Persian man" found in several texts of Darius (e.g., DB; Kent 1953: 116–34) whose image was then disseminated throughout the Empire as a visual image.[71] These images appear both on Persepolis reliefs and the Persepolis Fortification seals (see Figures 3.4–3.6).

Garrison and Root describe the scene on the seal PFS 57* in the following manner:

> Hero faces right, extending slightly bent left arm (elbow up) outward to grasp rampant winged horned lion creature by lower wing; right arm is bent and held down behind body to hold large weapon with downward-curved terminal and looped forepart (abutting garment lappet). Hero, in vigorous striding pose, raises his bent forward leg to place foot on rear hind leg of creature. (Garrison and Root 2001: 345)



Figure 3.4. A seal from Pasargadae featuring a Hero engaged in combat with a lion. From Stronach (1978: Pl. 162a). Reproduced with permission of Oxford University Press.



Figure 3.5. Representation of the Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification Seals (PFS164*, 9*, 16*). From Dusinberre (2002: 162). Originally published in Garrison and Root (2001) (PFS 9*= cat. no. 288; PFS 16*= cat. no. 22; PFS 164*= cat. no. 20). Reproduced with permission of M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root and the Persepolis Seal Project.



Figure 3.6. A representation of the Combat Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification Seal PFS 57*. From Garrison (2000: 132). Reproduced with permission of O. Keel.

Scholars note that the motif of the heroic encounter was an extension of the idea of the victorious king, over both internal and external enemies, expressed in official imperial documents. For example, the inscription of Darius (DNb) presents the Great King as a figure concerned with instilling among his subjects feelings of awe at his strength:

§8g – This indeed is my activity: inasmuch as my body has the strength, as battle-fighter I am a good battle-fighter. Once let there be seen with understanding in the place (of battle), what I see (to be) rebellious, what I see (to be) not (rebellious); both with understanding and with command then I am first to think with action, when I see a rebel as well as when I see a not-(rebel). (after Kent 1953)

Although devoid of the same level of detail, Sidonian coinage (Appendix A, 16, 19) echoes the Persian heroic-encounter motif. Whereas the ideological impetus behind the Sidonian use of the image of the heroic encounter is definitely of a lesser scale than in Persian iconography, the use of the image of the victorious Persian king suggests a desire on the part of Sidonians to be associated with Persian power and authority.

Another image widely used on Sidonian coinage which has strong parallels with Persian imperial iconography is the archer.[72] The image varies stylistically and iconographically and occupies an important place in Achaemenid iconography, used by Darius mainly for communicative and ideological purposes;[73] it is featured on numerous seals (see Figure 3.7) as well as some of the first Persian coinage (Figure 3.8).[74]

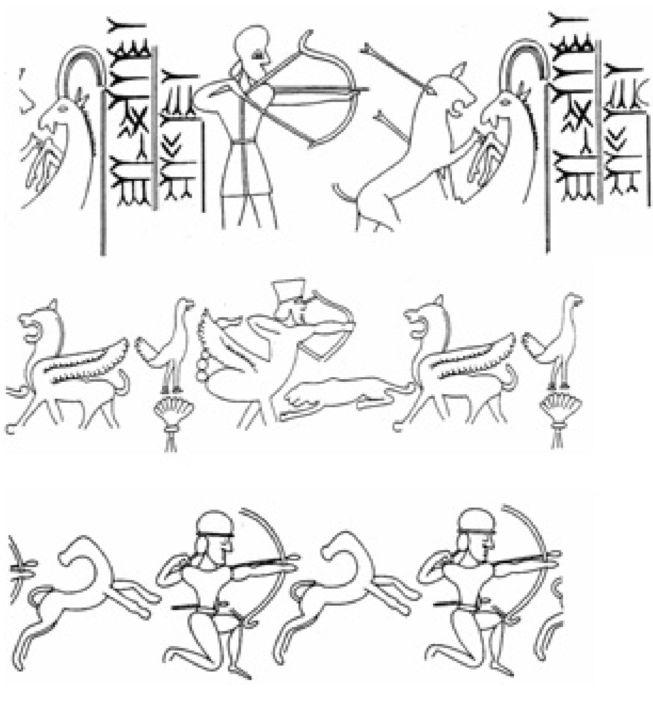


Figure 3.7. The archer image on the Persepolis Fortification Seals PFS 35*, 78, 175. From Garrison (2000: 137; 39). Reproduced with permission of O. Keel.



Figure 3.8. The archer image on Persian royal coinage. From Briant (2002: 214). Reproduced with permission of Eisenbrauns.

The archer image is so ubiquitous that it even gave the name "archers" to the coinage bearing it and the Greeks (e.g., Plutarch, Artaxerxes 20) were known to associate the archer with Achaemenid coinage.[75] The archer type of Achaemenid coinage had a longevity uncommon among coinage of most Greek cities. Noting the constancy of the image, Dusinberre (2002: 164) emphasizes that notes the use of the archer image by the Achaemenid Empire was a way to disperse among subject peoples the idea of the military power and honor of the Persian king in Achaemenid Anatolia. The image of the figure with a bow, in combination with other iconographic details, such as clothing and headdress, presents the Persian king as "King-the-warrior, King-as-courtly-presence, and King-as-superior-being" among its subjects.[76] Just as other images adopted by Persian subjects (e.g., a Persian-period statue of an Egyptian dignitary by the name Ptah-Hotep, who wears garments and a necklace in Iranian style),[77] the archer image on Sidonian coinage reflected an attempt to be associated with the powerful empire and, possibly, with its ideological program.

These examples suggest that what we have in Sidonian coinage, then, is a concerted effort on the part of the Sidonian royalty to employ a few indigenous images, possibly those having to do with maritime trade and travel, along with an ideologically meaningful set of Achaemenid images that are, essentially, imitations of Mesopotamian iconographic traditions, as Root (2000: 19–27) has suggested.[78] Had the Great King played a more hands-on part in the economic and political life of Phoenicia,[79] we could have stated that one of the reasons for this adoption of Achaemenid imperial iconography was Persian dissemination of the image of the victorious king of Persia, whose dominion included Sidon and the rest of Phoenicia. However, no evidence exists that would suggest strict control of Phoenician city-states by Persian authorities. Sidonian royal authorities, then, aware of the Achaemenid multivalent program present elsewhere in the Empire through iconography on coinage, seals, and monuments, willfully adopted it throughout most of the Persian period in recognition of the status of protectorate that the Persian empire lent Sidon. The Sidonian royalty deliberately used images that conveyed the power and protection of the Great King in order to both demonstrate and publicize loyalty to him and to establish its own higher authority within the administrative unit of the Persian empire, and of course, among the populations of Phoenician city-states and the rest of the Levant. Unlike other territories where the Persian ideological program was met with a fair share of resistance, as was the case in Sardis,[80] Sidon voluntarily used the imperial symbols of power to provide itself legitimacy through direct association with the powerful yet distant Empire. Partially, the adoption of the imperial power symbols raised Sidon's prestige among other city-states and facilitated Sidon's economic growth and expansion. Only when its economic growth and amicable relations with Athens in the first part and the middle of the fourth century BCE came into conflict with the Persian program did Sidon start deviating from traditional coinage types. Noteworthy in this regard is the Sidonian bronze coinage introduced in the second quarter of the fourth century BCE. It does not feature the king of Sidon following the chariot, as if the idea of Sidon following the Great King has been abandoned (see Appendix A, 17 obverse).

Briant (2002: 608) has asked whether or not iconographic evidence allows us to "establish the nature of political relationships that existed between the local dynasts and the Achaemenid authorities." The answer to this question for Sidon lies in the combination of several sets of data – literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological. These data present the picture of Sidon at the center of the Persian administrative unit that included the other Phoenician city-states, enjoying preferential treatment

by the Persian Kings, and seeking to align itself with the empire iconographically throughout most of the Persian period. In fact, the image of power that Sidon appropriated from Achaemenid iconography was so compelling in the fifth century BCE that we tentatively propose that the iconography of Sidonian coinage inspired other coin production in the Levant and beyond. The suggestion that it was Sidonian influence and not the influence of Achaemenid imperial iconography is based on the absence of Persian artifacts with images on them and a dismal number of Persian coins in the Transeuphratene area.

Three examples should be noted here. First, we have coinage at Elephantine that features a Sidonian-type galley on the obverse and the Royal Hero fighting the lion with a rooster between them on the reverse.[81] The second example, a clearer one, is the significant amount of imitation of Sidonian coinage in Samaria, where coins feature a chariot with two figures inside, one of whom appears to be royal, along with an archer, a galley, a fortress (Appendix A, 12/56), and a Royal Hero fighting a lion, among other borrowed Sidonian motifs (see Figures 3.9 and 3.10).[82]



Figure 3.9. Samarian coinage with the King fighting a lion. From Meshorer and Qedar (1999: Coins 7, 22, 23, 35, 55, 56, 74, 96). Reproduced with permission of S. Qedar.



Figure 3.10. Samarian coinage with the archer. From Meshorer and Qedar (1999: Coins 32, 97, 101, 105, 153, 197, 205). Reproduced with permission of S. Qedar.

The third set of examples comes from Philistia, where images of the Heroic Encounter, among others, have been attested (e.g., see Figure 3.11). In general, scholars speak broadly of "Eastern" (Phoenician and Achaemenid) influence of the iconography of the coinage in Philistia;[83] we propose that the "influence" of Sidon, properly defined, should be emphasized in a more substantive manner.

Imitations of Sidonian coinage, if they are indeed that, indicate both the acceptance on the part of Elephantine, Samaria, and, with certain qualifications, Philistine cities (because of the overwhelming Athenian artistic influence), just as was the case with Sidon, of the Persian imperial program and of Sidon as the strongest economic and political force in the Levant. Having to take into account the Sidonian prominence in the area, some political entities in the Levant chose to show their affiliation with Sidon by adopting its iconography. Still other locales preferred to counter the Sidonian influence. Peculiar in this regard is the coinage from Yehud struck in the name of Yehizqiyyah the governor and Yohanan the priest. Those coins feature the images of an owl and a female mask, i.e., an



Figure 3.11. Philistian coinage with the image of Heroic Encounter. From Gitler and Tal (2006: 255) (Coins XIX.19a-c). Reproduced with permission of H. Gitler.

iconography that is in stark contrast to the iconography of Sidonian coinage imitated elsewhere in the Levant.[84] In fact, the iconography of coinage from Yehud bears striking resemblance to Tyrian coinage. These similarities go beyond a simple iconographic borrowing and suggest the political and ideological alignment of Yehud with the city-state of Tyre in the Persian period. This preliminary conclusion will come to the fore in our discussion of ancient Jewish materials, as it further suggests not only economic competition between Tyre and Sidon in the Persian period but also an ideological agenda of resistance to Sidon and affiliation with Tyre expressed in ancient Jewish tradition.

In summary, the iconography of Sidonian coinage indicates both Sidon's close ties with the Achaemenid empire and the ideological program of the Persian kings aimed at the dissemination of royal iconography throughout the Empire. Such a program was carried out voluntarily in Sidon with the aim of advancing the idea of the powerful empire claiming the possession of its subject territories.

Several questions regarding connections of Sidonian coinage iconography and Persian iconography still remain. Do elements of divinity of the King in Persian iconography find place in Sidonian numismatic iconography? Are there any indications that either the local royalty or the Great King were worshiped in Sidon? Was there any religious syncretism whereby the worship of indigenous local deities such as Eshmun extended to the figure of the Persian King? Whereas some of these questions will remain unanswered due to the lack of data, others should become the subject of specialized studies.

Tyre

Tyrian currency production, second in volume and geographical dispersion only to Sidonian coinage, is represented by a variety of 1/48 shekels, 1/24 shekels, 1/2 shekels, shekels, 1/8 Attic drachms, and Attic didrachms, as well as some uncertain denominations. Through the years, Tyrian coinage has received a fair share of attention from researchers who have dedicated a number of studies to its typology of images and dating. In spite of this interest and advances, we still know very little about the history of Achaemenid Tyre to place these numismatic studies in a historical context. Here, we will attempt to clarify the issue.

On the basis of a hoard found in Jordan, which contained a coin from Tyre, scholars mark the middle of the fifth century BCE as the time when the first Tyrian coinage appeared, thus making Tyre the second city, after Byblos, to introduce coinage among Phoenician city-states.[85] Seven Tyrian coin series are identified which are generally characterized by the same image of an owl depicted *en face*, with an Egyptian crook and flail over its left shoulder (see Appendix A, 21–25). At some point at the beginning of the fourth century BCE, Tyrian coinage receives inscribed the letters M, MB, or Z, which may stand either for the initials of a king and/or some unknown date (Appendix A, 23). In the second part of the fourth century BCE, Tyrian coinage preserves even more letters (M, Ṣ, B), which probably also stand for the initials of a king (Azzimilk?).

More noteworthy is the obverse of Tyrian coinage. The earliest coinage features a dolphin over three lines of zigzag waves, a murex shell, and an occasional inscription, which scholars interpret either as the name of the engraver or the coin's value. At the beginning of the fourth century BCE, a new type is introduced which features a human figure, identified by Betlyon as a marine deity, riding a winged seahorse (see Appendix A, 23–25); some scholars identify this deity with Melqart.[86] The deity is holding reins in his right hand and a bow in his left hand, with a murex shell beneath

him. As Destrooper-Georgiades (1987) notes, this typology becomes widely spread on the bronze coinage from Tyre, which appears in large quantities at this period.

Some observations are due regarding the iconography of Tyrian coinage. The image of the murex shell is undoubtedly a tribute to Tyre's famed dye industry (see Appendix A, 22). The owl, a frequent image on Tyrian coinage, is a more difficult case, however, as it has several indigenous Tyrian[87] and foreign connections. One foreign connection is with Athenian coinage, where the owl is a popular image from the mid- to late-fifth century BCE.[88] Minting authorities of Tyre were certainly aware of the Athenian owl through trade relations with the Attic world and one could suggest that they used the image on their own coinage, for one reason or another. The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that the owl image on Tyrian coinage, as Betlyon has pointed out, has strong Egyptian characteristics as well, manifested by the images of the flail and the crook, long known traditional Egyptian symbols of kingship. Telling in relation to foreign connections on Tyrian coinage is also the dolphin image, which can be both a reflection of Tyrian maritime interests and an iconographic borrowing from the Greek repertoire, since the image appears on the coinage from archaic Sicily, for example.[89] Taken together, these examples quite possibly indicate the process of convergence of iconographies of several cultures in Tyre through which the city's royalty expressed their political affinities and cosmopolitanism, a process not uncommon among the other Phoenician city-states (cf. Sidon's adoption and appropriation of Persian chariot iconography). By adopting the images of the owl and dolphin on its coinage, the city of Tyre was able to infuse the images popular in eastern Mediterranean trade circles with the indigenous iconography, even if the latter had been originally adopted from elsewhere.

Although the above-mentioned iconographic types persisted throughout the fourth century BCE, Tyrian coinage still underwent other changes at that time. First, for some unknown reason Tyrian coinage, which at first included the indication of value, transitioned in the course of the fourth century BCE to indicate the year of minting instead. Second, at the beginning of the fourth century BCE Tyrian authorities resorted to the practice of plating bronze cores with silver, possibly the result of economic or political difficulties they were experiencing or someone's quest for personal financial gain, as Betlyon (1982: 45) suggests. The latter proposal is not without merit. Although coinage production of the first half of the fourth century BCE points to the intensive trade and economic expansion that engulfed the entirety of the Phoenician city-states, it does not mean

that fluctuations in economic development were impossible. A downturn in the economic activity of Tyre, an independent economic entity, could have been caused by the overwhelming economic activity of Sidon, its neighbor and competitor to the north. Plated coins, in conjunction with the fact that no large Tyrian denominations come from this period and that Sidonian double staters were used along the entire coast, are possible indicators of such an economic downturn. The economic expansion of Sidon was so pervasive that Tyre was unable to back up its currency with silver and eventually resorted to producing "counterfeit" currency in its economic exchanges.

The third change was the adoption by Tyre of the Attic weight standard, which is a little heavier than the Sidonian one, around 364–357 BCE. Some scholars[90] explain this change by the need of the Persian empire to revive trade in the aftermath of the revolts in the middle of the fourth century BCE. A more likely reason for the switch in standards, which was eventually made by all the Phoenician city-states that minted coinage, is a consequence of external geo-political processes necessitated by the developments in Greece. The dispersion of the Attic standard in the second half of the fifth century elsewhere was an attempt by the Athenian empire to stimulate general economic growth and to establish its political dominance among tribute-paying states by simplifying standards of coinage.[91] Although the Phoenician city-states were not under Athens' rule, they, as active participants in the eastern Mediterranean trade, were willing to adopt a widely accepted monetary standard in their own coinage to stay economically competitive. Against the background of their closer economic alignment with Athens in the first half of the fourth century BCE, the adoption of the Attic weight standard among Phoenician city-states was a natural progression of their increased alienation from the Persian empire. The details of this process currently elude us. Many unanswered questions still remain, such as why the Attic standard was adopted so late by the Phoenician city-states and why its adoption and its subsequent abandonment were so sudden.

In summary, among Phoenician city-states in the Persian period Tyre held a secondary, and perhaps subservient, position, both economically and politically, only to Sidon. Additionally, numismatic evidence from Tyre indicates the city's close relationship with Athens as exemplified by the dependency of its coinage on Athenian iconography and adoption of the Attic weight standard toward the end of the fifth century BCE.

Foreign and Counterfeit Coinage: The Secondary Evidence

Ancient counterfeit, Persian, satrapic, and Greek coinage, as well as coinage from Cyprus, complement the socio-political picture of the Phoenician city-states during the Persian period. Generally, these coinage assemblages confirm the intensified economic development among Phoenician city-states which began in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE and lasted through the middle of the fourth century BCE.

Counterfeit Coinage

Counterfeit coinage in Phoenicia is represented, for the most part, by imitations of Athenian currency produced with silver-plated copper or bronze. The presence of counterfeit Athenian currency in Phoenicia points to popularity of Athenian coinage among Phoenician merchants and, in turn, the orientation of the Phoenician city-states' economies toward Athens, especially by the beginning of the fourth century BCE.

Generally, imitations are easy to distinguish from originals, since the former often contain inscriptions, additional symbols, errors of reproduction, and important differences in style. They are not easy, however, to identify when produced skillfully. Elayi and Sapin (2000: 169) have noted three kinds of forgeries: (1) imitations to substitute and satisfy the demand for Athenian tetradrachms; (2) imitations which were easily recognizable in the ancient market (the production of the often crudely made imitations was relegated to unskilled laborers); and (3) imitations with specific, easily attributable to a specific workshop signs, symbols, and markings. Whereas the first two kinds undoubtedly played a role, however dubious, in economic transactions, the third kind of imitations was not intended to conceal the identity of a workshop and, as Elayi and Sapin (2000: 169) have suggested, they might have been the first run of coinage by a mint.

As a socio-economic phenomenon, counterfeit coinage emerged in Phoenicia as a response to and a consequence of several socio-economic factors. First, Phoenician city-states were active producers of coinage with considerable experience in coin minting. Therefore, it is possible that the production of counterfeit coinage was a complementary enterprise, sponsored and advanced by city-state minting authorities in order to generate additional revenue. Second, the local character of monetary production and exchange, without much input from outside participants, did not allow for easy detection of counterfeit coinage.[92] Third, the whole area of Beyond the River already participated in circulating and hoarding

pseudo-Athenian currencies of Egyptian origin.[93] When these socio-economic processes are taken into consideration, participation of the Phoenician markets in the spread of counterfeit coinage can be seen, then, as a natural response of Phoenician economies to the prevalent trends in the region. The exact role counterfeit pseudo-Athenian coinage found in Phoenicia played in economic exchange, as well as its centers of production and its social importance, still elude us.

Persian and Satrapic Coinage

The categories of Persian and satrapic coinage are crucial for socio-political studies of Achaemenid Phoenicia as they can potentially clarify both the nature of Achaemenid involvement in the affairs in Phoenicia and internal political developments there. However, the potential of the first is limited by the dismal number of available finds, whereas the second is riddled with numerous problems of identification.

In spite of the testimony of classical sources, which points to the close interaction of Phoenician city-states with the Persian empire, numismatic evidence does not decisively corroborate this picture. Overall, only about 160 samples of Persian coinage were recovered in the whole region of Transeuphratene.[94] Only one example of Persian coinage can be cited in connection with Phoenicia itself: a piece of Persian silver discovered in Byblos during the excavations of 1933–38.[95] To date, this is the only confirmed example of Persian coinage discovered in Phoenicia, Nunn's mention of several Persian coins found in the Near East, without any bibliographic sources for the finds, notwithstanding.[96] Such rarity of Persian monetary evidence in Phoenicia can be interpreted in a number of ways. Although the use of barter and weights for the purposes of trade and tribute-paying is the most likely answer, the melting of Persian silver sigloi cannot be entirely dismissed. Another explanation of the lack of Persian coinage in Phoenicia may lie in the character of Persian interactions with their dependencies. We have noted elsewhere in this monograph that in Phoenicia, no evidence exists that would demonstrate hands-on Persian involvement in the affairs of its dependency. Moreover, although the debate continues regarding the existence of one uniform coinage for the Persian empire,[97] the Phoenician, especially Sidonian, example demonstrates that it is more likely than not that Persian satrapies minted their own coinage according to their local economic needs rather than being inundated with some universal coinage produced by the imperial center(s).

Discussions regarding relatively rare satrapic coinage in Phoenicia usually, and almost exclusively, concentrate on that of the satrap Mazaeus/Mazday of Cilicia and Across-the-River province who took that post after suppressing the rebellion of King Tennes of Sidon sometime after 345 BCE.[98] Some scholars propose that he was minting his own coinage in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE (*ca.* 353–333 BCE). Others, however, question legitimacy of the very term "satrapic coinage" and, therefore, the existence of the phenomenon of "satrapic coinage" itself. The debate appears to have reached an impasse as both parties are offering equally convincing and at times equally unsubstantiated explanations.[99]

Whatever nomenclature one might use for them, coins bearing the name of Mazaeus were found in Sidon; they were probably minted alongside visually similar coinage of Sidonian kings (cf. Appendix A, 14 and 15). Their existence is supported by the general historical framework. In the aftermath of the rebellion of Tennes, Artaxerxes III restrained the tumultuous region by setting over it Mazaeus, who extended his authority over the coin minting enterprise in the administrative unit headed by Sidon. To do so, he minted coinage either in Sidon using existing capacity or elsewhere using Sidonian types. The fact that Sidonian coinage, well established iconographically by the middle of the fourth century, carried Mazaeus' epigraphic identification demonstrates the adaptability of Persian power structures to the political situation on the ground and to processes of cultural syncretism under way in Sidon, which we noted earlier.

Greek Coinage

Trade relations that Phoenician city-states maintained with the Aegean, as well as a variety of complicated socio-economic factors that were at play throughout the Persian-period Mediterranean region can potentially be clarified by imported Greek coins found in Phoenicia. The same may add to our understanding of diachronic changes in Phoenician and Greek relations in the Persian period.

It has been often noted that indexing and cataloging Athenian coins is complicated by the fact that it is often impossible to distinguish between genuine Athenian and other coins and their ancient imitations. Additionally, scholars have observed that among the most numerous finds of Greek coinage are Athenian tetradrachms, which have been found in Phoenicia proper in and around Arwad, Atlit, and in Massyaf – all areas usually associated with the Greek west.[100] Coinage from other Greek cities has been discovered at Byblos (Lycian currency), Beirut (coinage from Samos, Sicyone, and Eritrea), and Massyaf (coinage from Aegina and other

Greek cities).[101] Scholars have noted that distribution of Greek coinage, especially of Athenian coins, in Phoenicia followed the ebb and flow of its production cycles, reaching the apogee in the third quarter of the fifth century BCE but declining in the pre-Hellenistic period. Elayi (1988b: 44), for example, explains the decline of coinage in the period immediately preceding the Hellenistic period by the decline of Athenian currency production in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian wars and the proliferation of counterfeit currencies which undermined the trust of importers.

Whereas the usual explanation of the active trade between Phoenician city-states, Athens, and the larger Aegean convincingly accounts for the presence of Greek coinage in Phoenicia, other factors may have been at work as well. One of them, noted by Elayi (1988b: 42), may have been the necessity by Phoenician cities to import sufficient amounts of Greek coinage (and raw metal) for minting coinage. This proposal is seemingly supported by the findings of Kraay and Moorey (1968), who note the decline of Athenian currencies in hoards of the Levant around 480–450 BCE, about the time when the first Phoenician coins were struck. Determining the date of coins comprising a hoard is, however, very difficult. Therefore, whereas it is possible that some Greek coinage was melted down to produce local Phoenician currencies, its spread in Phoenicia most likely followed the course of normal trade in the larger region.

Coinage from Cyprus

Minting of coinage in Cyprus started some time around the last quarter of the sixth century BCE but very few samples of Cypriot coinage made their way to Phoenicia.[102] Among these Cypriot coins, one can mention one coin from Kition from the hoard found in the area of Beirut and four coins (two from Kition and two from Salamis) from the hoard found near Massyaf.[103] Scholars explain the relative absence of Cypriot coinage in Phoenicia by the low level of monetary exchange between Cyprus and Phoenicia in the Persian period. In fact, Destrooper-Georgiades (1987: 349) has noted that Phoenician coinage is practically absent in Cyprus. Just as was the case of numismatic evidence from Phoenician hoards, the evidence from Cyprus confirms the local usage of coinage and points to barter and inscribed weights as a means of trade with the outside world.

Two main currency workshops emerge to prominence at the end of the fifth–beginning of the fourth century BCE in Cyprus, those of Kition (Appendix A, 38–46) and Lapethos (Appendix A, 47–54), both of which minted coinage engraved in Phoenician. Other than the linguistic connection, coinage from Kition and Lapethos does not demonstrate any

pronounced iconographic connection with monetary types from Phoenician city-states. Moreover, the remaining Cypriot monetary workshops had their coinage engraved in Cypriot syllabic and, following the fourth century BCE, with alphabetic Greek writing, thus further demonstrating a departure from any cultural connections with the Levantine mainland. Additionally, coinage from Cyprus almost universally demonstrates closer iconographic connections with the Greek mainland beginning in the fifth century BCE.

Given this data, Michaelidou-Nicholau's synthesis of the relations between Greece, the Phoenician mainland, the Persian empire, and Cyprus, based primarily on numismatic and epigraphic evidence, still appears accurate:

> The political domination of the Phoenicians was to be confined at Kition. A change of the Persian attitude towards the Greek element in the island may have taken place, due undoubtedly to the military conflict between Greece and Persia for safeguarding or expanding their presence in the Mediterranean, but also the conflicting personal interests of the Cypriot kings facilitated the Phoenicians in gaining in a way the upper hand in the political life of Cyprus. This is undoubtedly the main repercussion of the presence of the Phoenicians in Cyprus. But in spite of all this, we must bear in mind that only Kition was the actual Phoenician stronghold in Cyprus, where a Phoenician dynasty reigned from the early fifth century to 312 B.C., represented by coherent series of coinage. The presence of Phoenicians in the other Cypriot cities does not mean Phoenician colonization. The Phoenicians were residents in a milieu of Greeks, in the same way Greeks may have dwelt in or around Kition. That a kind of peaceful symbiosis existed between the two elements, with as [*sic*] only exception the case of Idalion, is made evident through inscriptions and coins. The capture of power in certain instances by Phoenicians should be considered as temporary political incidents. (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1987: 335–36)

Such Phoenician and Greek cultural and political coexistence in Cyprus marks the entire Persian period, although the Phoenician element was diminishing at an accelerated pace in the fifth century BCE. This trend was a result of political events of the Persian period, where Cyprus found itself on the side of Greeks in the wars, both physical and cultural, between Persia and Greece.

In summary of the secondary numismatic evidence, we may state that it indicates close connections of the Levantine mainland with the Attic world in the Persian period, especially in the first half of the fourth century BCE. Additionally, this evidence indirectly supports the proposal that the primary function of Phoenician currencies on the Phoenician mainland

was first and foremost to facilitate local trade, whereas the secondary function could have been ideological, as we have observed in the case of Sidon.

Contribution of Phoenician Numismatics to the Social History of Phoenicia: A Synthesis

Phoenician numismatics allow us to speak with more precision about economic, political, and social conditions in Achaemenid Phoenicia. In combination with other evidence, numismatic finds better account for the appearance of Phoenician coinage and its function, while also describing socio-economic developments on different levels of social organization of Persian-period Phoenician city-states and informing us of the relations among these city-states, between them and the Persian empire, and other entities.

Emergence of Coinage Minting in Phoenicia

Minting of coins in Phoenician city-states appeared rather late, almost a century and a half after it was first introduced in Greece.[104] Unfortunately, literary and epigraphic sources do not address directly exact reasons why coinage was first introduced in Achaemenid Phoenicia. However, based on a careful collation of several clues contained on coins, comparative evidence, and the general picture of socio-economic developments in the area, several possibilities – some more convincing than others – appear plausible.

Firstly, the need to pay Persian tribute could have been an impetus, even if in theory, for the introduction of coinage in Phoenician cities. Notwithstanding, this proposal is significantly weakened by the fact that the few examples of Phoenician coinage found in Persia hardly constitute the tribute amount reflective of the administrative unit encompassing the Phoenician city-states. Even if coinage from Phoenicia found its way to Persia, it was first and foremost brought there owing to its metal value, rather than as a monetary unit of one or several Phoenician city-states. Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 156) cites examples of currencies found in Persia from silver-rich regions in Greece that were not under the Achaemenids and, therefore, were not obliged to pay tribute. This example quite possibly sets a precedent for the Persian empire importing much needed silver from regions abounding in it in the convenient form of coinage. If this is the case, then Phoenician currencies might have been for the Persians no more than easily transportable pieces of silver – there was

no need to go into the entire enterprise of minting coinage just to pay tribute.[105]

Second, equally unconvincing is the idea that coinage was introduced to pay mercenaries (Greek or otherwise) who passed through Phoenician city-states (cf. Xenophon's *Anabasis*). Mercenaries would hardly be swayed to be paid in currencies of different Phoenician city-states – they preferred the money of their own states or other currencies with a much wider area of distribution. The same objection, among others, would apply to Wallinga's (1987: 71) proposal that coinage was introduced to pay Persian navy rowers. The emergence of independent coinage among different Phoenician city-states some of which have hardly been noted in connection with Persian naval activities would seriously undermine Wallinga's thesis. Moreover, a possibility that the Persians would resort to demanding individual Phoenician city-states to produce separate monetary instruments to pay the rowers would constitute an unnecessarily complicated accounting arrangement.

More convincing are proposals regarding the emergence of Phoenician coinage based on economic theories since they provide a more adequate interpretive framework, which takes into consideration a variety of factors. One such proposal is Polanyi's (1968: 162) idea that the late introduction of coinage in Phoenicia was a result of the absence of a market economy (in the modern sense) in Achaemenid Phoenicia. Polanyi derived his assertion primarily from the notion that ancient economies did not have price fluctuations.[106] Without launching a thorough critique of Polanyi, we may note here that the very ideas of coinage and hoarding of coinage testify to the processes of economic exchange and accumulation of wealth among the population of Phoenician city-states and, thus, seriously undermine his proposal.

Intriguing is a proposal by Aubet, who countered Polanyi's stance by suggesting that the Phoenicians intentionally did not introduce coinage early on in order *to protect* their international trade. She explains that they did not do it

> in order to safeguard their international trade which was much more far reaching and heterogeneous than the purely territorial and local trade in which the electrum coins were circulating with conventional values based on local silver, so that their value and equivalencies were perforce restricted to the ambit of the poleis or states in which they were circulating. (Aubet 2001: 141–42)

Aubet's proposal rightly accentuates the purpose behind the minting of coinage as a matter of local prestige and economic considerations, but it does not take into consideration economic and political developments in Achaemenid Phoenicia. In an atmosphere of constantly accelerating economic output in the fifth century BCE, it was only natural for Phoenician city-states to have introduced coinage at the earliest possible opportunity. They did so when local trade demanded a financial instrument more sophisticated than barter and inscribed weights. In light of the fact that Phoenician coinage barely made its way outside of Phoenicia, Aubet's argument regarding safeguarding international commerce is, therefore, unconvincing. Moreover, Aubet's model would imply that the economies of Phoenician city-states were somehow regulated and synchronized with each other regarding their supply demands and future economic prospects. This notion does not withstand the emerging thesis from our overview of the numismatic evidence regarding the independent character of coinage production within each Phoenician city-state.

In our view, the introduction of coinage was an internal development, rather than initiated by external imperial pressure. It was inspired by the encounter of the Phoenicians with the cash economy of Greece, and was necessitated by the demands of local trade in the Persian period. Following the Greek example, the Phoenicians largely employed coinage in addition to barter and other premonetary instruments (i.e., inscribed weights), making monetary and non-monetary segments of their economies coexist. However, as tendencies toward saving and hoarding in Phoenicia demonstrate, the Phoenician city-states minted coinage primarily to facilitate local trade as opposed to exporting their currencies. This conclusion demonstrates a considerable degree of economic autonomy for each individual Phoenician city-state, and, by analogy, further supports the idea that administrative units of the Persian empire were able to maintain their own coinage production to support their local economies. Contrary to scholars who suggest that coins from Cilicia, Samaria, and possibly Yehud of the first two quarters of the fourth century BCE were part of the "same monetary system and were meant to circulate together" (e.g., Fried 2003b: 74, 79, 82), we propose that there was no single universal monetary system either in Phoenicia or other administrative units of the Persian empire. On the contrary, the production of coinage was meant to maintain the interests of each independent state and was done for the support of *local* trade first and foremost. The similarity in weight, which Fried uses as one of the primary arguments for a unified monetary system, is a manifestation of internal, rather than empire-dictated, economic

developments. Nor was the emergence of coinage a political message aimed at demonstrating to central imperial authorities the economic might of Phoenician city-states – it was an outgrowth of local trade needs.[107]

In Phoenicia, one of the driving economic forces of the fifth century BCE was the need to rebuild naval resources, which had suffered great losses at the hands of the Greeks.[108] In hindsight, such political disasters as the battle of Salamis (480 BCE), in which representatives of Phoenician city-states were fighting on the side of Persia, eventually proved to be a positive development for Phoenicia giving rise to a war-and-crisis-driven economic boom. The rebuilding of the fleets of Sidon, Tyre, and possibly other cities required considerable amounts of raw materials and other goods, which were purchased mostly at the local level from the neighboring states, but from abroad as well.[109] As the economic situation became more complex and could not be satisfied by the inflexible means of barter and weights, since the latter bear few indicators of value and provenance, the Phoenician city-states started minting coinage in order to facilitate local economic exchanges.

Persian-Period Phoenician City-States: Socio-Economic Developments

We do not possess any specific socio-historical information regarding the impact of coinage on the individual Phoenician household. However, the numismatic evidence is instrumental in identifying several general trends in the development, especially economic one, of another component of our social history – Phoenician city-states.

Numismatic evidence testifies to the gradual attainment of a high level of economic development among Phoenician city-states in the Persian period accompanied by stable, abundant, and regular monetary production,[110] sufficient to supply the needs of the thriving economies of those states. Precise details of the process are unclear but we can state that economic progress varied over time and place, as it was dependent on the economic fortunes of each individual Phoenician city-state and larger political events in Phoenicia and in the eastern Mediterranean more generally. Based on the scope of distribution and available quantity of coinage from different periods we may conclude that Phoenician city-states achieved their peak of economic development sometime by the end of the fifth century BCE or the first quarter of the fourth century BCE. The same evidence suggests that the economies of Phoenician cities slowed considerably in the second half of the fourth century BCE.

In spite of the wide involvement of several Phoenician city-states in local and international trade, their levels of economic development differed

considerably. Generally, distribution patterns of coins from the main currency production centers could correspond to the economic value of their coinage. For example, the currencies of Byblos are hardly attested outside the environs of the city. On the other hand, coinage from Tyre and especially Sidon underwent the widest distribution, which indicates the accelerated economic development of these cities.[111]

As Phoenician inter-state economic relations in the Persian period developed, so did their economic relations with the outside world. Phoenician ambitions in the latter were geared more toward exporting goods and serving as an intermediary in the east Mediterranean trade rather than importing goods. Compared to Greek coinage discovered in Phoenicia, Phoenician coinage found abroad is of much lesser quantities. This tendency suggests that: (1) Phoenician traders did not trade with the Mediterranean, which is unlikely; or that (2) traders from Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, and other cities of the Phoenician coast were more inclined to trade with the Aegean using weights and probably barter, the same way they maintained economic relations with Cypriot cities and towns. Numismatic evidence does not allow us to state what products were exported besides glass and dyes, but one of the important goods produced in Phoenicia and exported to the Aegean and other regions could have been grain, although evidence for this is primarily literary, coming from Greek plays dated to the Persian period.[112]

Most of the aforementioned observations regarding the economy and trade of Phoenician city-states in the Persian period are congruent with the picture of Phoenicia that scholars have drawn for the first part of the first millennium BCE,[113] which allows us to state that little change had occurred in spite of the imperial rule over Phoenicia. Moving on to the case of each individual state, we may note that trade as an extension of social relations remained among Phoenician city-states a phenomenon that saw close collaboration of the state and private enterprise for the purposes of turning profit. Just as it was the case in other polities in the ancient Near East, private enterprise was accelerated by the efforts of select traders, comparable in social status to the *tamkārum* of Babylon. The state was a participant in the trade process as well, as a consortium and as a protector of other participants in the economy, although it is possible that some processes of privatization took place, as Bell (2005) has proposed. In the Persian period, as was the case in the Iron Age, the state and the private citizen trader existed in a complementary relationship.[114]

As local trade blossomed, it spurred an exchange of various iconographic elements between coinage assemblages of Phoenician city-states. However,

it was the artistic and ideological preeminence of Sidon that was broadest and most pervasive. The prominent position of the city of Sidon and its coinage are evident from the wide distribution of Sidonian coinage not only in the neighboring Phoenician cities but also throughout the entire Levant. One noteworthy example is the region of Samaria, where Sidonian coinage iconography might have been emulated. The process of emulation in Samaria, if it did indeed exist, was not only a reflection of strong economic ties between the two entities but also of the preeminence of the city of Sidon in the entire area of the southern Levant in the Persian period also suggested by classical and epigraphic sources. Aside from these general observations, at present we can add little more regarding the influence of Sidonian coining practices on the coinage of the Persian period Levant or regarding the exact character of Sidonian influence there; further research will clarify these issues.

Having said this, we might add that one of the more fundamental advances that needs to take place in Levantine studies is the identification of the economic and cultural practices of individual Phoenician city-states, which are often lumped together and given the amorphous designation, "Phoenician." Such research would help further explicate the decisive role of Sidon in the affairs of Palestine, especially the province of Judah (later Yehud when mentioned in the Achaemenid context) in the Persian period. Scholars have already noted the overwhelming presence of Phoenician products and pottery in the southern Levantine cities during the Persian period.[115] Even the Greek penetration into Palestine is now viewed as having occurred through active Phoenician mediation. For example, Wenning (2004: 58) notes that instead of the "Hellenization" of Palestine in the Persian period one should speak of *Phoenicization (Phönizierung)* as a more precise description of the process of delivery of Greek goods and artistic tastes into Palestine by Phoenician merchants. Additionally, rather modest population numbers for Yehud,[116] combined with its rather insignificant agricultural and industrial output, stand in stark contrast with the flourishing areas of the coastal plain. Sidon excelled economically among those cities, at the end of the fifth–beginning of the fourth century BCE, emitting a stater twice as heavy as the ones produced at other Phoenician cities. These developments indicate a higher level of economic activity, a more significant commodity circulation, and, possibly, an economic and/or political dominance of Sidon in Palestine, as Sidonian coins found in hoards in Palestine often outnumber coinage from other Phoenician cities.[117] Additionally, Sidon's economic and political prowess is manifested in the fact that its coinage was emulated in the Levant as something valuable

and desirable. On the other hand, iconographic connections between the coinage of Yehud and Tyre indicate possible economic cooperation between these two parties. Given the atmosphere of economic competition in which the Phoenician city-states of Sidon and Tyre had been engaged throughout their history, such alignment of Yehud and Tyre carries serious implications for possible ideological reactions reflected in the elitist literature emanating from Yehud during the Persian period. These observations will become central when we approach the ancient Jewish materials and attempt to sketch a possible ideological agenda of resistance to the dominance of Sidon evinced by the southern biblical authors and redactors of the Persian period.

Phoenicians, Persians, Greeks

Questions still abound regarding the exact nature of interactions between the Persian empire and Phoenician city-states. However, the fact that Phoenician city-states were allowed to mint their own coinage is remarkable since it demonstrates the degree to which Persian authorities allowed them to function independently (or semi-independently) and advance their individual economic agendas. In this regard, we would like to speak of the *managed autonomy* of Phoenician city-states by which they were formally accountable to the Persian empire through tribute-paying and membership in the imperial administrative structure but were allowed to conduct their individual economic policies in the region and internationally.

Persian political and cultural iconographic influence made its way into Phoenician societies through coinage, by Phoenician, especially Sidonian, kings, voluntarily fusing local iconographic traditions with ideologically significant images of the Persian empire aimed at establishing an image of the powerful king. This process was aimed at both expressing their formal loyalty to the Great King and at aggrandizing their political and economic standing in the Levant through association with, and publicizing the iconography of, the powerful Empire.

Expressions of subservience were a meaningful token of gratitude on the part of Phoenician kings. Their city-states, threatened by the developing market economy of the Greek city-states, chose to side with the Persian empire in order to see their markets protected by the new superpower, at least until they chose to seek closer ties with Greece in the fourth century BCE. As Moore and Lewis (1999) convincingly propose, both the siding of Phoenician city-states with the Persian empire and their economic rise in the fifth century BCE can be explained by the Phoenician desire to keep their spheres of economic interest safe from the encroaching free-market revolution which overtook the Greek city-states. This interpretation,

although based on some dated proposals by Katzenstein (1979: 31), is still helpful as we try to explain the reasons for Phoenician prosperity in the Persian period.

As for self-aggrandizing, it is observed most clearly through the adaptation of Persian imperial iconography by Sidonian kings. Just as we saw a reference to the authority and strength of the Great King who legitimized the acquisition of Dor and Joppa by Sidon in the inscription of Eshmunazor (Chapter 2), so we see Persian symbols of power on coinage appropriated for the purposes of self-advancement on the part of the Sidonian royalty.

In addition to images showing connections with the Achaemenid iconographic cache, coinage from Phoenician city-states also features Egyptian and Attic motifs. Coin imagery, peculiar to each Phoenician city-state, served not only as a statement of economic autonomy within the local context, but also as a means of expressing cultural sympathies and traditional loyalties. In the case of the city of Arwad, this demonstrates strong signs of affiliation with the Attic world. In general, however, the coin iconography of Phoenician city-states indicates a distinct predisposition toward multiculturalism, syncretism, and cosmopolitanism which characterized the population of Phoenician city-states throughout the first millennium BCE. These traits were reinforced as they encountered the outside world through travel and trade exchanges.

Apart from iconography, weight standards adopted by individual city-states indicate cultural, political, and economic affiliations as well. As Phoenician economies eventually aligned more closely with the Attic in the first half of the fourth century BCE, their weight standards changed across the board to correspond more closely to the Attic standard. This process of adjusting weight standards of coinage was both an economic and a political development, signaling changing socio-political and economic affiliations. Another important socio-historical conclusion on the basis of metrological studies is the absence of a uniform weight standard. It is yet another proof of the decentralized character of monetary exchange maintained by Phoenician city-states in the Achaemenid period and the absence of direct Persian imperial control over them. Generally left to their own devices, enterprising Phoenicians were able to appease the Great King by appearing compliant while conducting their burgeoning business affairs as they saw fit.

Chapter 4

Patterns of Continuity and Change

Achaemenid Phoenicia through Material Remains

The previous three sets of data concerning Achaemenid Phoenicia allowed us to make conclusions regarding social life in Phoenician city-states primarily on the levels of the city and the Persian administrative unit. In addition to these two levels of information, the analysis of material culture remains in this chapter will reveal information concerning a third, more elusive, layer of socio-historical information: the level of the household.

In general, this task is no small feat, since most scholars unanimously agree that archaeological data for Achaemenid Phoenicia is insufficient, most of the remains having been destroyed by the subsequent Hellenistic or Roman building and agricultural projects. Furthermore, many sites are impossible to excavate due to modern Lebanese infrastructure (airports, buildings, etc.) resting on top of them, or because of the perishable nature of material culture artifacts that have not survived to this day.[1] For example, at Byblos, which has been extensively excavated, the "Phoenician" period, i.e., the pre-Hellenistic layer, is completely absent (Appendix B V). Similarly, the remains from Sarafand (classical Sarepta) and Tyre have limited "Phoenician" remains, whereas the coastal cities of Arwad, Beirut, and Sidon have yielded an even smaller amount of usable artifacts dated to the Achaemenid period.

Regardless of the limited amount of material culture remains, one can still ask a specific set of questions, the answers to which can contribute to our understanding of social life in Achaemenid Phoenicia. Do material culture remains indicate that the Persian-period Phoenician city-states continued to be separate polities? Was there continuity in material culture from the Neo-Babylonian to the Achaemenid period? Can we describe in any detail the everyday habits and preferences of the population of the Persian-period Phoenician city-states based on material culture remains? Can these remains confirm or overturn our conclusions regarding the

"managed autonomy" status of the Persian-period Phoenician city-states? Were there any tendencies for Phoenician influence to spread across the Persian Levant?

In this chapter, we will attempt to answer these questions by providing an analysis and synthesis of material culture remains from the Phoenician city-states dated to the Persian, and when the information is lacking, to the preceding Iron Age II period. Additionally, accompanying Appendix B, containing the bulk of specific material culture information, will supply further additions and clarifications to some broader statements contained in the chapter itself.

Persian-Period Artifacts Associated with Phoenicia

Several material culture features and artifacts have traditionally been associated with the Phoenician mainland: certain kinds of pottery, religious architecture dedicated to Astarte and Melqart, "pier and rubble" building technique, burials, murex shells, and sarcophagi.[2] An analysis of distribution of these artifacts in the Achaemenid period will allow us to trace patterns of continuity or discontinuity at Phoenician sites from the previous periods.

Traditional Phoenician Pottery

The main Phoenician marker and the chronological index not only for the Achaemenid period but also for the entire Iron Age and earlier periods is the pottery.[3] Several types of pottery, originating in or associated with Phoenicia, are distinguished, and they are crucial, not only in tracing developments at archaeological sites, but in also identifying them as Phoenician. Naturally, there are numerous difficulties in drawing connections between material culture remains and ethnicity; calling pottery samples "Phoenician" we inadvertently are implying that there is a relationship between "pots" and people. Although pottery remains by themselves cannot serve as an unmistakable ethnicity marker since its provenance could have been easily affected by a variety of factors such as trade, etc., we agree with other scholars that in combination with other evidence material culture artifacts can be ethnically defined.[4]

The first type, commonly referred to as bichrome ware, appeared in the mid-eleventh century BCE[5] and completely disappeared by the ninth century BCE.[6] It is represented by globular flasks and jugs with circles in red and black and is found mostly in Philistia, the northern Negev, Egypt, and Cyprus.

The second type, the origin of which is dated variably to as early as the late eleventh or as late as the early ninth century BCE, is usually referred to as Black-on-Red (also Cypro-Phoenician, BoR) ware and is found at core

Phoenician sites, in Cyprus, and in Palestine.[7] This finely crafted ware with a reddish slip and black horizontal or concentric lines has been frequently used to establish the tenth–ninth century date for the first Phoenician settlements in Cyprus and to date the wide-scale Phoenician penetration into the Levant in the Iron Age II period. The BoR loses many of its refined forms by the seventh century, when it is represented by poor-quality examples, before finally disappearing completely as a pottery category.[8]

The third group of Phoenician pottery, the red-slip ware, is the most wide-spread example of Phoenician pottery found in Cyprus, North Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain.[9] This type is usually thought to have originated in the ninth century BCE in Phoenicia proper and is considered the marker for the beginning of the western Phoenician expansion. Trefoil-mouthed (or mushroom-lipped) jugs with red burnished slip are the primary representatives of this pottery group. This pottery type continues until the end of the seventh century and possibly even later, especially in the coastal areas.[10]

All three of these pottery types have been connected with Phoenicia on the basis of their distribution at Phoenician settlements on Cyprus and at the mainland Phoenician sites, such as Sarepta and Tyre. The BoR pottery is remarkable in this regard. Initially, Gjerstad identified the BoR pottery as an import into Cyprus by inhabitants from the Syro-Anatolian regions, which included Phoenicia, during the Cypro-Geometric III period, 850–750 BCE.[11] Ever since Gjerstad labeled it "Black-on-Red," the term has been widely accepted. Gjerstad's ideas, however, have since been challenged and modified, in regards to both the geographical origins (Cyprus or the Levant) and the chronology of the BoR.[12] Even the "Black-on-Red" designation has been found to be ambiguous and deficient, as local variants have been identified.[13] Still, the connection of the BoR with Phoenicians still persists in scholarly literature, mainly due to the close ties of Cyprus with the Phoenician mainland.[14] These connections are mainly valid for the period ending in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, the time when the BoR pottery largely disappears from the Levant.[15]

The other two types of pottery, bichrome and red-slip ware, were spread around the Levant in the Iron Age and were even emulated, as in Samaria in the ninth/eighth centuries.[16] Since they are believed to have originated in Phoenicia,[17] these pottery types have been used to assign several sites in northern Syria (e.g., Al Mina), and such sites as Khaldé and Tell Abu Hawam within the Phoenician cultural milieu (see Table 4.1 and Appendix B I.2).[18] In the case of Tell Abu Hawam, the presence of bichrome and red-slip ware

Table 4.1. Distribution of pottery from the cemeteries in southern Lebanon. From Chapman (1972: 58). Courtesy of the American University of Beirut.

	Number		*Collection (%)*	
Painted wares	131		41%	
Bichrome		98		31%
Black painted		17		5%
Red painted		16		5%
Plain ware	128		40%	
Red slip ware	33		10%	
Local black-on-red ware	6		2%	
Black burnished ware	4		1%	
Fine ware	15		5%	
Black-on-red ware		6	2%	
Bichrome and black painted ware		9	3%	
Total	317			

is crucial, since it is the only connection of the site with Phoenicia (see Appendix B XI.2).[19]

What is the importance of all this information regarding earlier Phoenician types of pottery? One of the most significant developments in the Achaemenid period is the process of emulation of the earlier Iron Age pottery types at both Phoenician sites and in Palestine, especially the jugs and juglets, "face" and "Bes" vases (see Fig. 4.1), several kinds of jars, and lamps.[20] These, of course, allow for a higher degree of certainty that the sites where these products were discovered (Appendix B XI.4)[21] belonged to the Phoenician cultural domain, an important factor in establishing patterns of continuity or discontinuity at archaeological sites.

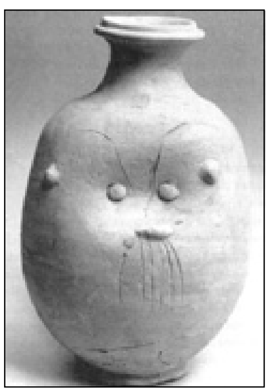


Figure 4.1. Clay "Bes" vase from Dor. From Stern (2001: 509). Reproduced with permission of Yale University Press.

Pottery Imports

Another noteworthy development at Phoenician sites that intensified significantly during the Achaemenid period was the growing amount of pottery imports from the Mediterranean basin. These imports not only indicate the lively economic activity in which Phoenician city-states were broadly engaged but also illustrate the cosmopolitanism, susceptibility, and openness to foreign – in the case of pottery imports, Greek – styles and influences on the population of these city-states.

Scholars have noted that the first significant influx of Greek pottery (mainly Euboean) reached the Levant, especially Tyre, during the tenth–ninth centuries BCE, at the same time as a steady import of eastern luxuries started flowing into Lefkandi on Euboea.[22] According to Collombier's (1987) reconstruction, imports to Phoenician sites from Euboea, Corinth, the Northern Cyclades, and Athens underwent fluctuations throughout the following centuries, almost disappearing *ca.* 700–650 BCE, but increasing in the following period (*ca.* 650–550 BCE). From the end of the sixth century BCE and throughout the fifth century BCE (530/520–480/470 BCE), Attic ceramics were widely diffused in the Levant, especially attestable at north Syrian sites (see Appendix B I), and on the entire island of Cyprus. In spite of a strong reduction in Attic imports in the Levant *ca.* 480/470–450 BCE, they resumed around 450 BCE and continued until the end of the fourth century BCE, with the period between 430 and 370 BCE yielding the greatest numerical diffusion of Attic products.

This ebb and flow of Attic imports into the Levant is crucial for the study of Achaemenid Phoenicia, as it corresponds well to the political processes taking place there. The reduction in Attic imports in 480/470–450 BCE can be explained by a gradual formalization of relations between the Phoenician city-states and the Persian empire. The same period saw the creation of the Delian League, an alliance of Greek city-states aimed "to repair the injuries they had suffered by laying waste the territories of the king" (Thucydides I.96.1; Briant 2002: 555–56). The formation of the League most certainly precluded trade with the Phoenicians, loyal allies of Persia in the battle of Salamis (480 BCE). Also, since the Achaemenids were engaged in military conflicts with Greece, imports most likely were affected by the political situation in the larger region of the eastern Mediterranean. As the Phoenician city-states sought to establish closer political and economic ties with Athens in the latter half of the fifth century BCE, however, imports revived, at least until the turbulent years of the 360s BCE, when the revolt of the satraps broke out and interfered with the normal flow of commerce once again. The extent of the revolt is staggering; in addition to the king of

Egypt, Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, Mausolus, ruler of Caria, Orontes, satrap of Mysia, Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, as well as Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, Cilicians, Syrians, Phoenicians, and most of the coastal peoples participated in the revolt against the Great King (Diodorus Book XV.90.3–4). It is not surprising that economic exchanges were disrupted in such a political climate.

Phoenician Religious Architecture

Just as pottery imports into Phoenicia reveal the openness of the population of Phoenician city-states to new styles and the willingness to adapt and syncretize traditional and freshly-introduced forms, so does architecture at Phoenician sites, especially religious structures erected to the Sidonian goddess Astarte. Among such temples either functioning or appearing in the Achaemenid period are the temple dedicated to Astarte and Melqart at Tell Suqas (Appendix B 1.3), the temple of Eshmun and Astarte in the foothills of Bostan esh-Sheikh in the vicinity of Sidon (Appendix B VII), and the temple of Tanit-Astarte in Sarepta (Appendix B VIII). The fact that several Phoenician deities were venerated at the same religious structure suggests the emergence in the Persian period of the syncretism and complexity of worship. Not only did the Persian period witness the formation of divine cohorts in Phoenicia, but it also witnessed introduction at Phoenician sites of temples dedicated to non-traditional deities, as can be observed at the temple complex of Ma'abed dedicated to Melqart-Heracles. The Melqart-Heracles complex is also significant due to its use of architectural elements of traditional Egyptian and newly-introduced Persian origin, such as crenellated architectural embellishments (Appendix B II.3).[23] The acceptance of Persian architectural elements at Phoenician sites parallels the earlier process of adoption of Egyptian elements and provides yet more indication of the Phoenician susceptibility to foreign elements in the artistic expression.

City Planning, Patterns of Destruction and New Construction, and Construction Techniques

Generally, tracing the city planning of major cities in Phoenicia is a difficult task because modern buildings and infrastructure stand on top of ancient sites. Fortunate exceptions are the better developed and preserved coastal cities, which usually provide a matrix for reconstructing a general layout of a city throughout the region. Such a plan contained a walled citadel at the center of a settlement surrounded by other structures, such as private

houses, religious buildings, and premises for commercial and industrial activities.[24]

Examining the patterns of destruction and new construction, we can observe that in spite of the fact that several sites, including Al Mina (possibly destroyed by Persians and later resettled *ca.* 375 BCE), Tell Suqas (resettled *ca.* 380 BCE), and ʿArab el-Mulk, underwent considerable destruction during the Achaemenid period, probably resulting from either local or regional political perturbations, in general the area from Al Mina down to Ashkelon maintained a continuity of material culture and expansion (Appendix B I.1–3). Among the excavated sites that continued from the previous historical period without any major changes are Arwad, Amrit, Sarepta, Tyre, and Tell Keisan (Appendix B II, VIII, IX, and X.4). Among the sites that underwent new development and expansion are Al Mina, Rās al-Baṣīt, Beirut, and sites in the Akko coastal plain and western Galilee (e.g., Tell Abu Hawam) (Appendix B I.2, I.3, VI, and X).

Construction techniques at Persian-period Phoenician sites also evince patterns of continuity, mostly through the use of the Iron Age styles popular throughout the Levant. Ashlar masonry, which was widely used in the Iron Age II at such sites in northern Israel as Hazor, Samaria, Megiddo, and Gezer,[25] has been observed at the Persian-period sites of Tell Suqas and Ashkelon (Appendix B I.4, XI.5). The "pillar and rubble" (also known as "pier and rubble") technique attested at Persian-period Phoenician sites



Figure 4.2. "Pillar and rubble" ("pier and rubble") construction from a Persian-period site near Beirut. The photo appears in *The Phoenicians* by Glen Markoe, British Museum Press (2000: 85). Used with permission of the publisher.

(e.g., Al Mina, Beirut, and Akko) is another traditional Levantine building method (Appendix B I.2, VI, and X.3; Fig. 4.2).

This domestic-architecture construction method, characterized by combining ashlar piers with rubble stones serving to fill the gaps,[26] was mostly deployed in the Levant in Palestinian areas dominated by the Phoenicians and at Phoenician colonies in the Mediterranean throughout the Iron Age II, Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods.[27]

Alongside the traditional Levantine construction styles, several new, Achaemenid architectural elements,[28] such as massive podia and hypostyle rooms, emerge at Phoenician sites during the Persian period. The presence of Persian imperial architecture elements, such as those in the temple of Eshmun and Astarte at Bostan esh-Sheikh (Appendix B VII) and at Umm el-Amed (Appendix B IX.2), indicate processes of syncretism and emulation in Persian-period Phoenician city-states. These processes are also evident in the fourth-century "Alexander Sarcophagus" and the "Sarcophagus of the Satrap," both of which combine a number of Achaemenid and Greek elements (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4).[29]

Burials

Archaeological remains suggest that inhumation and cremation, which were practiced during the Iron Age II period for adults and children alike, were still used at Phoenician sites during the Achaemenid period, as burials

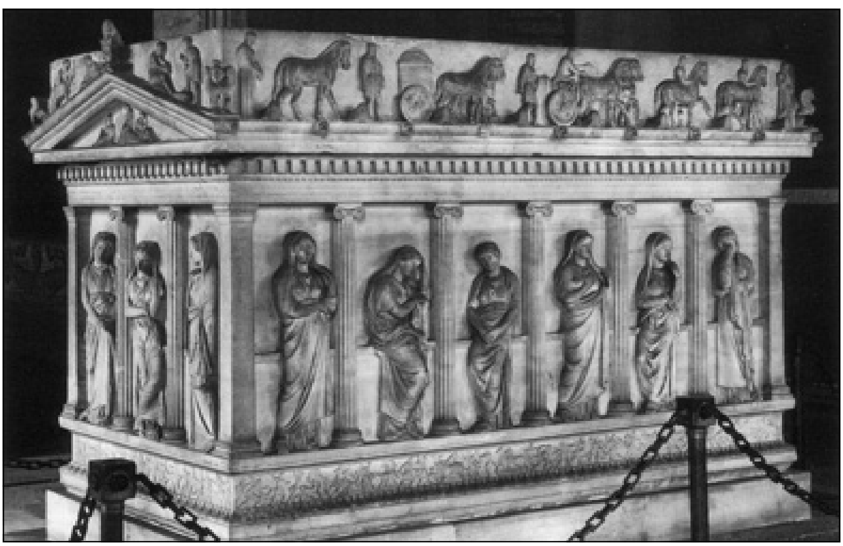


Figure 4.3. The "Sarcophagus of the Satrap" from Sidon. From Boardman (1994: 56, Figure 3.9). Reproduced with permission of Princeton University Press.

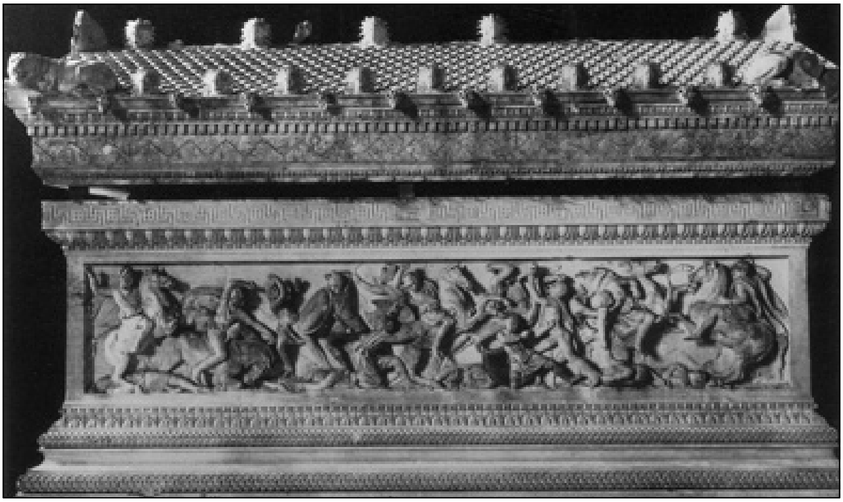


Figure 4.4. "Alexander Sarcophagus" from Sidon. From Boardman (1994: 56, Figure 3.10). Reproduced with permission of Princeton University Press.

near Tyre (Tell er-Rashidiyeh), in southern Spain (Trayamar), and in Akhziv demonstrate (Appendix B XI 3). Not only did members of the same community practice inhumation and cremation, but one and the same tomb could "successively receive incinerated and inhumated bodies."[30]

Several types of tombs were used during the Persian period, including vertical shafts leading to a burial chamber, stone-lined pits, and natural caves.[31] Just as was the case in the preceding periods, the population of Phoenician city-states preferred to dispose of the dead far from the living, burying or incinerating the remains at a distance from their settlements.[32]

On a social level, burial practices at Persian-period Phoenician sites indicate widening social stratification. This phenomenon is traceable, for example, through typologies of imported and locally-made tomb-placed terracotta and monumental funerary sculptures found at Arwad (Appendix B II). The larger, more expensive, specimens include motifs that are reminiscent of Cypriot, Persian, and Greek types, whereas smaller terracotta products exhibit primarily locally-made Phoenician-type features, such as motifs featuring Astarte. The same tendency is evident in monumental funerary structures, which exhibit strong foreign, mostly Egyptian traits, manifested primarily in the use of rectangular basin built on bedrock in the center of a funerary shrine throughout most of the first millennium BCE.[33] Smaller, more modest, burials of the lower class were almost always arranged in the style common among other Phoenician and Punic sites.[34]

Purple-Dye and Sarcophagi Production

The traditional involvement of the population of Phoenician city-states in fabric-dyeing, well-known from classical sources, most certainly continued throughout the Persian period, although no fabric remains from the period have been attested. The unmistakable indicators of this industry are mounds of murex shells found at Beirut and near Sidon (Appendix B VI and VII).

A remarkable change, however, occurred in the traditional production of Phoenician sarcophagi. The sarcophagi coming from Phoenicia prior to the fifth century were mostly of Egyptian type. In the period between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, however, the typology of sarcophagi radically changed.[35] The sarcophagi produced at Arwad and Sidon in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE lose their traditional body-shaped forms, instead being replaced by a clean slab of material; furthermore, the male heads are stylized in a Greek way with thick hair and curly beards (Appendix B II, VII).[36]

Trends of Continuity and Change at Phoenician Sites in the Achaemenid period

As our analysis suggests, the characteristic feature of material culture remains from Persian-period archaeological sites in Phoenicia is continuity, not only with the previous periods, but also with the material culture of the larger Levant. This continuity, which can be traced through the traditional Phoenician material culture remains, was the result and continuation of larger geo-political developments of the preceding epochs.

Phoenician City-States and the Geo-Political Situation in the Iron-Age Levant

There are many reasons to believe that coastal Phoenician areas were affected by the same processes that impacted the wider Levant in the Iron Age and beyond, especially since these areas were at the crossroads of global changes and influences underway in the geopolitical entity known as Canaan.[37] This entity was developing rapidly in the Iron Age, with the city-states of Arwad, Byblos, and Sidon undergoing considerable economic and political revival and expansion. Phoenician exports to Cyprus expanded in the eleventh century BCE,[38] followed from the tenth century forward by expanded Phoenician engagement in foreign trade with Greece, Sicily, Italy, and North Africa.[39] The continuing survival and expansion can probably be explained by shrewd and timely alignment of the Phoenician city-states with the new political powerhouse of Assyria, which was

gaining ground in the region starting with Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 BCE).[40] Furthermore, Phoenician city-states prospered during the Iron Age I period because they were able to develop and expand their own international liaisons unhindered by the palatial and imperial structures of the Late Bronze Age Levant.[41] Previously united under the geographical and political term "Canaan" of the Late Bronze Age, the city-states of the Syrian and Lebanese coasts from Arwad in the north to the Plain of Akko in the south, emerged as "Phoenicia," or at least became identified as such by outsiders (e.g., Greeks), in 1200–1000 BCE.

Phoenicia of the twelfth-tenth centuries was bordered to the north by the Neo-Hittite or Syro-Hittite city-states of northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia,[42] to the east by the emergent Aramean states with "patrilineal"[43] organization, and to the south by a tumultuous situation of "imperial retreat, urban decline and accompanying ruralization, and foreign settlement."[44] This southern border is of particular interest since it presents substantial uncertainties regarding the identification of polities there. Scholars have proposed that the sites in this area did not undergo drastic changes in the early Iron Age, continuing at a lower prosperity level.[45] These sites, primarily in the Akko Plain, were characterized by poor quality, urban-style architecture dominated by well-planned three- and four-room houses.[46] Another feature of the sites of the Akko plain (e.g., Akko, Tel Keisan, and Tell Abu Hawam) is the considerable degree of continuity with the material culture of Phoenicia, especially in pottery and metal types (Appendix B X, XI 2). This continuity strongly suggests that the sites of the Akko Plain were included in the cultural sphere of Phoenicia from at least the end of the Late Bronze Age if not much earlier. Moreover, architectural affinities between the sites of the Akko plain and Phoenician sites extend to the urban site of Megiddo and village sites of the central Hill Country, Transjordan, and Syria, and traditional Phoenician monochrome and bichrome-type pottery appears at such sites as Hazor, Hadar, Megiddo, Dor, Beth Shean, and Tel Masos.[47] Overall, the archaeological picture of the sites in the Akko Plain in the early Iron Age period is generally similar to the picture from the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Early Iron Ages for the sites located on the Phoenician mainland. In other words, archaeology does not reflect any difference in material culture between Iron Age Tyre and Iron Age Tell Abu Hawam (for a map, see Figure 2.1). Moreover, the difference between Tyre and Megiddo in the realm of material culture appears quite minuscule as well.[48]

From a global economic point of view, the Iron Age witnessed a gradual transition from palace-centered to entrepreneurial trade, to the point that

either both trade systems coexisted, or private merchants took over trade completely from palace officials, as Monroe (2000: 342–43) argues on the basis of his analysis of the long-distance trade in Ugarit.[49] In any scenario, it is conceivable that the process of privatization of trade, recently reiterated by Bell (2005), was well under way among Levantine societies of the Iron Age.[50] Bell (2005: 231–32) proposes that privatization is a convenient way for a state to move from the burdens of ownership and control to the convenience of deriving dividend income and taxation revenue from profitable enterprises. Moreover, profit orientation as a stimulus behind privatization facilitates social measures (e.g., full employment) aimed at maximizing profits. Profitable privatized companies are free to expand their business globally rather than locally, without burdening themselves with participating in securing strategic resources for their homeland. The latter function is fulfilled by state-owned companies that tend to be highly integrated and which control "supply, manufacturing, distribution, and retail activities as well as the construction and support services ancillary to these businesses."[51] Finally, Bell argues that privatization fosters innovation and greater flexibility in raising capital for new ventures.

Bell's model, where privatization serves as a means for the elite to concentrate on the most profitable trade avenues, is most appropriate for Phoenician city-states. These states generally thrived throughout the first millennium in the climate of a lower level of Egyptian control after the death of Ramesses II[52] and probably continued this momentum throughout the Achaemenid period. However, as Bell has noted, the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age I was not a simple replacement of one socio-economic paradigm (palace administered exchange) by the other (entrepreneurial trade). Rather, it was a process of restructuring of, and concentrating on, the parts of long-distance trade that were still profitable. In the Iron Age I, both Cyprus and Phoenicia were able to adjust to a situation in which imperial agendas were less pronounced and the economic environment was less centralized. The end result was Phoenician reorientation to more promising and profitable avenues of trade.[53]

The Iron Age II, including Babylonian layers of mainland Phoenicia, is poorly known archaeologically, and the period is primarily reconstructed based on our understanding of the policies and workings of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires elsewhere and of the Phoenician settlements in other parts of the Mediterranean. Scholars have noted that the transition from Iron Age I to Iron Age II was accompanied by a move to more monumental buildings made of ashlar stone (e.g., Tyre Stratum V–IV; Sarepta Area II, Y Stratum D; Sarepta Area II, X Period VII).[54] At the same

time, traditional Phoenician building techniques appear with more frequency at other sites in the Levant during the Iron Age II, including the fortress site of Khirbet Rosh Zayit, which features Phoenician defensive architecture,[55] and Phoenician quays at Tabat el-Hammam, Jaffa, and Jazirat Faraun.[56] Taken together, these signs, as well as spread of the BoR pottery along the Levantine coast, point to the period of growing prosperity and Phoenician expansion throughout the Levant.

This prosperity also affected the Phoenician mainland, especially the coastal cities. Phoenician kings continued building magnificent administrative and cultic buildings. The population of these city-states, urban for the most part, continued dwelling in narrow structures, where rooms and walls were organized orthogonally, in an insular arrangement characteristic of city-planning at sites like Megiddo.[57] These cities were home to many industries, including pottery production and metallurgy, most concentrated in one area of the city, as excavations at Sarepta have demonstrated.

The above-mentioned Phoenician expansion and prosperity of the Iron Age II was, as Joffe (2002: 446) suggested, an indirect result of the tension between the more southerly Levantine entities and Aramean city-states in the tenth century BCE and developing politics of obeisance or resistance, i.e., competition that the entire region of the Levant engaged in, whether individually or as a group, in relationship to the Assyrian Empire. These processes, as well as further development of long-distance trade, trade specialization, and fragmentation of states in the Levant led to regional divisions and, ultimately, to the emergence of the ethnic states such as Israel, Judah, Ammon, Moab, and Edom.[58]

The city-states of Tyre and Sidon, however, although connected by a commonality of language and material culture artifacts, maintained their separate socio-economic identities and political affiliations. Using inscriptional evidence, Markoe (2000: 41–49) reconstructs the events that transpired in Phoenicia during the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian dominion. When the Assyrian Empire established itself in the Near East, Tyre held preeminence among Phoenician city-states, probably even concluding a treaty under which it had a protected status in the Assyrian Empire.[59] This protected status was broken under Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BCE), who launched a series of aggressive campaigns to subjugate the entire Levant under tighter control.[60] However, even when Tyre aligned itself with the anti-Assyrian coalition that revolted against Assyria, it was spared by Tiglath-Pileser III in recognition of its potentially valuable economic contribution. Similarly, from the inscriptions of Sennacherib we know that

when amiable relations between Tyre and Assyria came to an abrupt end in 701 BCE and Sennacherib invaded Tyre and made Tyre's King Luli flee to Cyprus,[61] the city still survived intact and continued to prosper under the Assyrians, further developing its economic and political ties with Egypt. Although it was punished by Esarhaddon by the imposition of heavy tribute in 671 BCE for its alignment with Egypt, the city-state survived until Nebuchadnezzar came to power. Under him, the city was subjected to a 13-year siege in 585 BCE, which ended with the possible deportation of the Tyrian royalty to Babylon and the subsequent continued autonomy of the city.

The situation with Sidon was different. After revolting against Assyria, it was seized by Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) and demolished, with all its treasures carted off to Assyria. Abdi-Malkuti, the rebellious king of Sidon, was captured and beheaded, the population of the city was deported, and the city was resettled by foreign peoples.[62] As Assyrian suzerainty was weakening toward the middle of the seventh century BCE, the city was rebuilt and was quickly advancing to become a major naval force by the time the Persian empire came on the scene.

At the end of the Neo-Babylonian period, the Phoenician city-states enjoyed a period of relative independence and loose administrative control.[63] The same gradual and non-violent transition that took place in the Levant from Assyrian to Neo-Babylonian administration can be noted also for the transition from the Neo-Babylonian empire to Achaemenid rule.[64] Scholars attribute the continuity of material culture in the areas of "Beyond the River," a Neo-Babylonian province, to the rapid change from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian administration under Cyrus II in 539 BCE and the administrative continuity between the empires.[65]

Developments in the Achaemenid period

In spite of the overwhelming evidence for the continuity of Levantine and Phoenician sites from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian periods, several important changes took place. One of these changes is a greater and more accelerated pace of Phoenician cultural penetration in a large area stretching from north Syrian sites to the south in Gaza. Scholars speak of a considerable amount of Phoenician influence among the sites on the coast of Palestine at the beginning of the fifth century BCE.[66] The fact that these settlements appeared during a limited period of 50 years, peaking during the second half of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BCE, signals to some scholars that this process was engendered by an official decision from imperial authorities.[67] Indeed, the inscription of Eshmunazor may very

well explain the grant of lands and the passing of authority in administering the coastal area of Palestine to Sidon. Another explanation for the Phoenician presence in the coastal areas of Palestine may lie in the idea proposed by Edelman (2006). She opines that in order to incorporate the Cisjordanian hill country into the Persian economic system, the Great King granted trade monopolies to Tyre and Sidon. Such monopolies were meant to prevent Greek merchants from accessing interior markets, thus punishing them for a long history of resistance to the Persians.[68]

The second feature that characterizes Phoenician material culture of the Achaemenid period is the growing level of syncretism, eclecticism, and multiculturalism. The population of Phoenician cities exhibited a remarkable tendency toward adopting and adapting foreign elements, mostly Greek and Persian, in their architecture, as we have seen in the examples of Byblos and Sidon (Appendix B V/VII). This tendency is parallel to the acceptance of foreign iconography on the coinage of Phoenician city-states and the ease with which imports, such as Greek pottery, made their way into the Phoenician mainland.[69] These features indicate not only the broad spectrum of Phoenician exposure to other cultures, but also the changing political situation, in which Egyptian artistic influence, along with Egyptian political importance, was waning in the region. With the new Persian empire came new artistic trends and styles, even if they reflected the older Assyro-Babylonian artistic tradition newly-infused with fresh ideological meanings. As many examples outside of Phoenicia proper demonstrate, the Persian empire had a profound impact on indigenous material and visual cultures. At the same time, the penetration of Greek products can be explained by the spread of Greek settlements and enclaves, such as those found at north Syrian sites (e.g., at Al Mina), and extensive Greek trade in the eastern Mediterranean.

A Social History of Achaemenid Phoenicia from Material Culture: A Synthesis

By employing a comparative framework that included at times the entire Levantine region, we have attempted in this chapter to further explore the social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia on the levels of the household, the city, and the larger geo-political unit. Furthermore, using material culture remains as our starting point we addressed the issue of the Phoenician expansion in the Achaemenid period, both in the Levant and in the Mediterranean.

Judging from material culture remains, Achaemenid Phoenicia emerges as a territory with fluid boundaries, stretching from Arwad, perhaps even from north Syrian sites, down to Gaza, encompassing a number of coastal sites in between. This territory was occupied by a conglomerate of seldom-united Phoenician city-states, whose royal dynasties were able to preserve their identities and patron deities. This cultural and religious continuity is well-supported by the continuity of Phoenician material culture from the Iron Age to the Persian period at such sites as Arwad, Sidon, Sarepta, and others. Although in several instances settlements were disrupted, there do not appear to have been any radical culture-level changes; the principle of continuity of cultural heritage and remains was prevalent at Persian-period Phoenician sites.

The social history of the Persian-period Phoenician city-states on the level of the individual household is difficult to reconstruct, but we can apply the same principle of continuity in this instance as well. The available data suggest that a typical Phoenician household of the early Iron Age occupied a modest house of three to four rooms, similar in its architecture to the southern, Palestinian, tradition rather than being an entirely unique style.[70] The same household setup, as well as the similar family size, probably persisted throughout the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, with the processes of urbanization accelerating at a faster pace toward the Achaemenid period, as the spread of Phoenician settlements south of the Akko Plain all the way down to Gaza demonstrates (Appendix B X). Archaeological remains from the Persian period do not conclusively indicate clear differentiation between the households of cities and villages in Phoenicia. For this reason, it is possible to assume that some forms of ancient familial organization, such as described by Schloen's model of *patrimonialism* (2001), survived throughout the Persian period. According to this model, the nuclear and extended family were the cornerstones of society, and the king, the primary patriarch, presided over and controlled clan and family units. Although Schloen's model of *patrimonialism* has received its fair share of criticism[71] and addresses primarily the situation in the Late Bronze Age Levant, it is nevertheless helpful in describing the structure of the household, as it emphasizes the hierarchical structure of society led by a king.

Besides the commonality of architecture, Persian-period Phoenician settlements were characterized by similarity of burial practices. Both cremation and inhumation were used throughout the region for adults and children equally, and the dead were disposed of far from the living, buried or incinerated at a distance from the settlements.[72] Another

characteristic feature across Phoenician settlements of the Levantine coast is the eclecticism of religious expression, which included construction of small temples of modest scale and production of religious implements (statuettes, vases, etc.) associated with various deities worshiped in the region – Astarte, Eshmun, Melqart, and various manifestations of Baal.

In spite of this uniformity of practice among individual households, the population of Phoenician settlements throughout the coastal Levant was sharply stratified economically and socially. This stratification is best exemplified by a difference in taste between elites and commoners.[73] Whereas the elites preferred to implement and consume prestigious and, probably, expensive styles and types uncommon in their land, such as Egyptian, Aegean, and Persian goods, the commoners were forced by economic factors to adhere to traditional, mass-produced styles of everyday goods, especially pottery. Foreign styles were considered items of prestige and opulence, whereas indigenous designs and products were considered mundane and pedestrian, and therefore were widely available at affordable prices.

In its organization, Achaemenid Phoenicia persisted in the city-state setup that was so characteristic of the Iron Age period. In fact, this socio-political arrangement was a "geopolitical left-over" from the Bronze Age, and survived either due to Egyptian and Mesopotamian imperial negligence of the area from the beginning of the Iron Age through the Persian period or due to their deliberate "hands off" strategy of managing the Levant.[74] There is every reason to assume that this same lack of interest and lack of necessity in maintaining strict control of Phoenicia led to a relationship between the sovereign Persian power and individual Phoenician city-states that we have labeled "managed autonomy." Local independent dynasts, left in place even after the Persians had come to power, conducted their affairs under the direction and power of the Great King, a pure formality until the fourth century BCE, when political tensions led to a stronger presence and eventual *force majeure* by imperial Persian forces to replace the loose vassaldom in Achaemenid Phoenicia. Under the local king were the elites, probably represented by landowners and traders, who conducted their economic activity under the aegis of the ruling house, enjoying perquisites and protection in exchange for taxation. Trade and agriculture were the primary economic interests of aristocracy, with the latter one possibly gaining in popularity.[75]

Just as a basic city-state structure survived throughout the first millennium BCE down to the Persian period, so did the standard layout of a city. A typical Phoenician city was relatively small in size, in the range of

2–40 plus ha/5–100 plus ac, divided into two distinct districts: a "lower town," a place for intense artisanal activity and residential buildings, and an "upper city," an area for temples, administrative buildings, and houses for the elite.[76] The port, a usual fixture in many Phoenician coastal towns, attracted a number of economic facilities dominated by a large area serving as a market place. The current state of archaeological research on Achaemenid Phoenicia does not allow us to make any conclusions regarding either the population size of its cities or of Phoenicia in general. One of the reasons for this difficulty is the lack of some of the central factors for estimating population proposed by Shiloh (1980): very few towns have been excavated, their outlines and residential areas of the individual dwelling units are not clearly defined, and the individual dwelling units are for the most part not defined architecturally.

One of the most crucial conclusions of our research on the basis of epigraphic, classical, and numismatic sources is the intense economic competition between Phoenician city-states, primarily Sidon and Tyre, throughout the Persian period. We agree with other scholars who have proposed that this competition was a consequence and extension of the mutual independence they each maintained throughout the Iron Age down to the Early Hellenistic Age.[77] Archaeology, on the other hand, neither supports nor overturns this conclusion, since pottery shards and other archaeological remains do not allow us to distinguish among Phoenician entities. The impossibility of identifying Tyrian, Sidonian, or other Phoenician influences on the northern, central, and southern Levantine coast on the basis of archaeological remains not only accentuates the nascent character of archaeological research in Lebanon, but it also serves as yet another indication of the commonality of material cultures among Phoenician city-states.

Concentration on different industries and artistic production is another phenomenon among Phoenician city-states, which started with their rise and rapid expansion in the Levant and in the Mediterranean in the ninth century BCE and continued throughout the entire first millennium BCE. Thus, by the Persian period we have a situation in which some branches of Phoenician art (ivory-working, metalworking, stone sculpture, seal-cutting, coroplasty, ceramics, dyeing, and jewelry), spurred by division of markets and industrial output among Phoenician city-states, are widely diffused and are recognized by outsiders as typically Phoenician. At the same time, these "typically Phoenician" products are characterized by a wide range of artistic "borrowing" and eclecticism, historically a common trait in Phoenician art. The Persian period is a time when in addition to traditionally

imitated Egyptian and Greek motifs, Iranian artistic traits, especially evident in architecture through the use of massive podiums and hypostyle rooms, become prominent.

Archaeological evidence suggests that strong economic and commercial growth throughout the Levantine coastal area in the Achaemenid era[78] did not elude Phoenician city-states, which were propelled in their economic growth by their already substantial trade relations with polities in the Mediterranean. The trade of Phoenician city-states in the Persian period was most likely conducted both by representatives of the individual city-states and by private firms and enterprises, which in turn competed with foreign trade firms in the Levant and in the larger Mediterranean market.[79] Phoenician merchants, whether they were representatives of royalty, larger trading firms, or individual traders, were very active in the Persian period, traveling widely along the Levantine coast dealing in mass-consumption products (glass products, pottery, etc.) which appealed to the tastes of the immediate non-discriminating public. To satisfy the needs of the elite, these merchants also traded products of higher artistic value and more intricate workmanship fashioned in Phoenicia in the styles of Egyptian, Greek, and Persian originals.

Finally, archaeological evidence allows us to evaluate Phoenicia's status as an administrative division of the Persian empire. There are material culture remains, such as architectural elements in the Iranian style on non-administrative buildings, primarily temples from Byblos and Sidon that lend *some* credibility to the idea that there was limited Persian presence in Phoenicia of the sixth-fourth centuries BCE. Yet a more likely explanation lies in the argument for pervasive Phoenician eclecticism in artistic tastes. Just because a building carries features common in Persian art does not by itself indicate that a Persian official occupied it. Even if a Phoenician temple, such as the one at Bostan esh-Sheikh, carried architectural elements found on Persian temples, it does not mean that there was a Persian influence on the cult there. On the contrary–Phoenician builders employed Persian architectural elements, enhanced by Egyptian and Greek embellishments, as an expression of their cosmopolitanism. Just as we saw in our overview of Phoenician numismatics, the use of prestigious imperial Persian artistic iconography was not only a manifestation of obeisance on the part of local Phoenician royalty and elite, but also an attempt to assert self-ascribed high status among commoners and foreigners. In short, Persian artistic elements appropriated throughout Phoenicia became status symbols, prestige items par excellence, and visual manifestations of elitist power and authority through which imperial power was emulated locally.

Chapter 5

The Phoenician City-States of Tyre and Sidon in Ancient Jewish Texts: Reflections of History[1]

Having assessed a picture of Persian-period Phoenicia based on classical, epigraphic, numismatic, and material-culture sources, we now turn to a very complicated and, in a sense, problematic source to use in historical reconstructions – ancient Jewish writings. Among many complicating factors is the fact that although the Persian-period Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon receive ample coverage in ancient Jewish texts, the term "Phoenicia" is largely absent.[2] Whether it was a reflection of the traditional Near Eastern cognitive framework, a deliberate challenge to the Eastern Mediterranean ethos where the term originated, or something else is not entirely clear. More importantly, the texts themselves raise numerous questions as to their usability for historical reconstructions since they have a complicated history of composition, tumultuous and at times conflicting relationship to archaeological artifacts, and much-debated provenance.[3]

A number of proposals have been made recently in an attempt to place the writing/editing of the Hebrew Bible in a historical context. For example, Schniedewind in his fairly recent work (2004) suggests that the Hebrew Bible emerged during the transition from an oral tradition to textuality and literacy at the end of Israel's monarchy in the seventh and sixth century BCE. On the other hand Bolin (1996) and Carr (2004) proposed strong arguments for the Hellenistic period as a formative time-period for biblical tradition. The Persian period, however, has been cited with increasing frequency as the time when some of the central writings of the Hebrew Bible originated, or, at least, were assembled.[4] Based on the observation that there was a dramatic increase in population in Judah in 450–332 BCE,[5] Ben Zvi (1997: 197, 201) has proposed that literary activity was more likely in this period. Kessler (2001), arguing that low population numbers do not preclude the possibility for literary activity and output, suggests that the earlier part of the Persian period (538–450 BCE) should not be ruled out either.

Taking an approach of rhetorical and ideological criticism, we will argue that ancient Jewish descriptions of Tyre and Sidon not only reveal diachronic and ideological changes in the attitudes toward these cities, but also indicate possible historical contexts in which these descriptions emerged.[6] One of the central underlying assumptions with which we operate is the notion that the Achaemenid period is an especially likely candidate for the composition of ancient Jewish texts, based both on external and internal factors. First, it has been established fairly well that the Persian empire took little interest in the day-to-day operations of its subjugated territories in the Levant.[7] Even if we take into consideration the Persian imperial initiative in rebuilding the temple proposed by several scholars,[8] we still can argue that this political environment could have conceivably left room for or encouraged the emergence of national religious literature in Yehud. Second, several internal socio-political conditions could very well engender ancient Jewish literature. The demands of the post-exilic community called for texts that would provide a cultural identity and facilitate organizational structuring of the post-exilic society of Yehud,[9] just as the Judean elite needed texts that would solidify the national idea. Moreover, from a literary standpoint, ancient Jewish texts demonstrate strong similarities with, and influences from, the early Hellenic literary tradition, e.g., Herodotus.[10] Especially telling in this regard is the similarity of the Moses accounts in ancient Jewish texts with the biography of Cyrus the Persian.[11] Both stories exhibit very similar literary qualities characteristic of descriptions of heroic characters, including the motifs of exposure, dramatic rescue, growing up in a foreign environment, and eventual recognition and assuming of the rightful place of leadership. This and other examples suggest close temporal proximity between ancient Jewish and Hellenic literary traditions.

How do, then, ancient Jewish texts, possibly a Persian- or Hellenistic-period collection of writings, address Phoenicia's two preeminent city-states of Tyre and Sidon (since the term "Phoenicia" shows up only in Obadiah 20 and several times in some undoubtedly late Hellenistic books)? In many cases, the texts that describe Tyre and Sidon, such as the books of Kings and Chronicles, invoke similar historical persons and events, such as the relationship of David and Solomon with King Hiram of Tyre and the gift of 20 cities by one king to another, indicating that the two originate in or are derived from the same historical tradition. In several cases, however, these and other ancient Jewish texts present Tyre and Sidon in very divergent ways, both historically and ideologically. One instance is the category of texts where the two city-states are treated separately, Tyre receives more coverage, and it is reported as a more powerful polity with

more developed trade than Sidon (e.g., Ezekiel 26–28). These texts are in tension with a second category of materials that also speak of the city-states of Tyre and Sidon as independent polities, but in this case it is the city-state of Sidon that is presented as the economically stronger of the two (e.g., the Kings materials). Finally, there is yet another grouping of ancient Jewish texts that speaks of Tyre and Sidon in the same context, without differentiating between the two, resorting to the set phrase "Tyrians and Sidonians" (e.g., Chronicles, Ezra).

Additionally, there are differences in the way the particulars of the same stories of Tyre and Sidon were transmitted in the Israelite historiographic tradition. Consider the following example:

The Masoretic Text

1 Kings 9: 10–14:

9:10 At the end of twenty years, in which Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the Lord and the king's house
9:11 King Hiram of Tyre having supplied Solomon with cedar and cypress timber and gold, as much as he desired, King Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee
9:12 But when Hiram came from Tyre to see the cities that Solomon had given him, they did not please him.
9:13 Therefore he said, "What kind of cities are these that you have given me, my brother?" So they are called the land of Cabul to this day.
9:14 But Hiram had sent to the king one hundred twenty talents of gold.
9:26 King Solomon built a fleet of ships at Ezion-geber, which is near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom.
9:27 Hiram sent his servants with the fleet, sailors who were familiar with the sea, together with the servants of Solomon.
9:28 They went to Ophir, and imported from there *four hundred twenty* talents of gold, which they delivered to King Solomon. (NRSV)

2 Chronicles 8:1–2:

8:1 At the end of twenty years, during which Solomon had built the house of the Lord and his own house,
8:2 Solomon rebuilt the cities that Huram had given to him, and settled the people of Israel in them.
8:17 Then Solomon went to Ezion-geber and Eloth on the shore of the sea, in the land of Edom.
8:18 Huram sent him, in the care of his servants, ships and servants familiar with the sea. They went to Ophir, together with the servants of Solomon, and imported from there *four hundred fifty* talents of gold and brought it to King Solomon. (NRSV)

The Septuagint (LXX)

1 Kings 9:10–14:

9:10 During twenty years in which Solomon was building the two houses, the house of the Lord, and the house of the king,
9:11 Chiram king of Tyre helped Solomon with cedar wood, and fir wood, and with gold, and all that he wished for: then the king gave Chiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee.
9:12 So Chiram departed from Tyre, and went into Galilee to see the cities which Solomon gave to him; and they pleased him not. And he said,
9:13 What are these cities which thou hast given me, brother? And he called them Boundary until this day.
9:14 And Chiram brought to Solomon a hundred and twenty talents of gold [verses 15–24 missing].
9:25,26 even that for which king Solomon built a ship in Gasion Gaber near Ælath on the shore of the extremity of the sea in the land of Edom.
9:27 And Chiram sent in the ship together with the servants of Solomon servants of his own, mariners to row, men acquainted with the sea.
9:28 And they came to Sophira, and took thence *a hundred and twenty* talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon. (after Brenton 1986: 459)

2 Chronicles 8:1–2:

8:1 And it came to pass after twenty years, in which Solomon built the house of the Lord, and his own house,
8:2 that Solomon rebuilt the cities which Chiram had given to Solomon, and caused the children of Israel to dwell in them …
8:17 Then Solomon went to Gasion Gaber, and to Ælath near the sea in the land of Idumea.
8:18 And Chiram sent by the hand of his servants ships, and servants skilled in naval affairs; and they went with the servants of Solomon to Sophira, and brought thence *four hundred and fifty* talents of gold, and they came to king Solomon. (after Brenton 1986: 577–78).

Discrepancies between the accounts in the books of Kings and Chronicles on the one hand, and the MT and the LXX on the other hand are striking. One needs only to examine the difference in the number of talents of gold brought to Solomon (highlighted in bold). The Chronicler does not know of the details regarding Solomon's gift but instead credits King Hiram, whom he calls Huram, with giving the cities to King Solomon. Moreover, he does not know of the discontent that Hiram had with Solomon's gift. Additionally, the translator of the LXX appears to reflect an independent tradition as well. The LXX accentuates Hiram's gratitude in the 1 Kings passage, emphasizing the reciprocity in Hiram's actions, and does not relate

the information found in the MT version of 1 Kgs 9:15–25. The LXX also does not distinguish between different spellings of Hiram/Huram in the MT variant of the passages in 1 Kings 9 and 2 Chronicles 8. What is the explanation for these discrepancies? Can they be accounted for historically?

Scholars have traditionally interpreted these passages, and other materials addressing the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon, as a reflection of the historical situation in Iron Age II.[12] We would like to test this assumption against the background of such important historical events as the revolt of Tennes of Sidon,[13] the raid of Artaxerxes III to quell it in the middle of the fourth century BCE, and the destruction of Tyre at the hands of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE. Also, the Sidonian dominance during the Achaemenid period and the decline of both Sidon and Tyre in the second half of the fourth century BCE that we have established in the preceding chapters will serve as the historical background of our analysis.

Ancient Jewish Texts from the Late-Persian and Hellenistic Periods

Tyre and Sidon in Jewish Historical Texts from the Late Persian and Hellenistic Periods

The books of Chronicles and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are the only texts in ancient Jewish written tradition mentioning independent Phoenician city-states that are widely dated to the Achaemenid period or later.[14] The reason for such dating is both the subject matter of these works and their historical and cultural perspectives. Chronicles exhibits a number of features common with both classical writings and Jewish Hellenistic writings,[15] whereas the books of Ezra and Nehemiah presuppose the Achaemenid period as their historical background.

Chronicles

Scholarship regards the Chronicler as a Persian- or Hellenistic-era writer who used extensively other biblical materials (e.g., the books of Samuel and Kings) or their literary precursors.[16] At the same time, the Chronicler was also aware of and used models and methods of Hellenic historiography.[17] Because of the Chronicler's wide scope of historical referencing, it has even been said that the books of Chronicles add practically nothing to the historical reconstruction of history, especially Israel's history.[18] However, the Chronicler's historical information, once discerned behind his theological interpretations and ideological adaptation of sources, is a valuable, independent account of the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon of the late Persian or Hellenistic period.

Several theological foci of the Chronicler shed light on his historiographic method; one of them is especially evident in the treatment of King Hiram. Spelled in Chronicles as "Huram," a form derived from ḥērem, "devoted thing," the Tyrian King stands for "a devoted one," a "righteous Gentile"[19] cooperating with the illustrious legendary kings of ancient Israel, David and Solomon (1 Chr. 14:1,[20] 2 Chr. 2:3). Thus, the theme of ḥērem introduced in the very beginning of his work (1 Chr. 2:7) finds its continuation and most poignant example in the figure of the righteous Gentile Huram. For the Chronicler, King Huram is largely a theological symbol that was very important for his goals of promoting religious devotion within the post-exilic community of the Persian or Hellenistic period.

Another theological focus of the Chronicler is the humble and respectful attitude of other nations to the supremacy of God manifested on earth by King Solomon of Israel.[21] In order to deliver this message, the Chronicler presents some of the information also found in the DtrH in quite a different light. Hiram's stronger position toward Solomon and ability to dictate the terms of cooperation between the two kings found in 1 Kings 5 is changed to the point that it is Solomon who is the stronger party in these relations and who is offering the terms of the treaty (2 Chr. 2:3–10). Well-tempered with gratitude, Huram's response is an acknowledgment by the Tyrian king of the greatness of Solomon and his God:

> Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who made heaven and earth, who has given King David a wise son, endowed with discretion and understanding, who will build a temple for the Lord, and a royal palace for himself. (2 Chr. 2:12; NRSV)

The same theological agenda is evident in 2 Chr. 8:1–2, where the Chronicler reinterprets the information that is also delivered by the DtrH (1 Kgs 9:11–14):

> At the end of twenty years, during which Solomon had built the house of the LORD and his own house, Solomon rebuilt the cities that Huram had given to him, and settled the people of Israel in them. (NRSV)

However, contrary to the DtrH version, the Chronicler reports of the gift of an unknown number of cities by Huram *to* Solomon. By reversing the topic of "cities" that is also present in the DtrH, the Chronicler emphasizes the benevolent character of the Tyrian king, who felt compelled to bestow a gift on the king favored by God. Such an interpretation of the story about King Huram demonstrates the Chronicler's intent to promote his theological agenda and, we would argue, to reflect the amicable

relationship of Tyre and Judah in his own time. The Chronicler's version of the story involving the handover of the cities in Galilee, even if it is reversed from the DtrH and LXX versions, still reflects the fact that the cities were under control of Tyre. Even if the cities in Galilee were no longer under direct control of Tyre in view of its destruction in 332 BCE, they were possibly still affected by Tyrian cultural influence.

Equally significant is the Chronicler's near total neglect of the city-state of Sidon. Sidon is mentioned only once in Chronicles (1 Chr. 1:13), in connection with the genealogy of Canaan.[22] It is possible that by almost completely avoiding any reference to Sidon, the Chronicler reflects its unimportant status starting with Artaxerxes III's raid against the city in the middle of the fourth century BCE. The Chronicler's silence regarding the city of Sidon is also noteworthy because his coverage of the city of Sidon is quite different from the attention Sidon receives in the DtrH. By not dedicating any notable place to Sidon in his work and by not resorting to a historical "recycling" either of the DtrH or of some other underlying historical source, the Chronicler avoided sounding anachronistic in his description of this Phoenician city-state. Indeed, speaking of Sidon in terms of its "greatness", a frequent DtrH characterization of Sidon (e.g., Josh. 11:8, 19:28), at the end of the Persian or the beginning of the Hellenistic period, when Sidon was recovering from the raid of Artaxerxes III and the coming of Alexander's troops, would be odd. Moreover, expanded coverage of Sidon in the Chronicler's work would have distracted him from his theological focus on the grateful Gentiles of which Tyre was representative.

Another valuable historical marker in the book of Chronicles is the use of the set expression "the Sidonians and Tyrians" in 1 Chr. 22:4 in the context of the two peoples bringing large quantities of cedar to King David. Referring to the two polities in a single phrase, the Chronicler indicates close association between Sidon and Tyre. From the numismatic evidence and classical sources we deduce that the city-states of Tyre and Sidon maintained separate economies and political regimes headed by independent kings. Additionally, the two city-states most likely were engaged in economic competition throughout most of the Achaemenid period. The cooperation of the two city-states, encapsulated in the phrase "the Sidonians and Tyrians," is most likely a reflection of the historical reality of the Chronicler at a time when neither of the city-states could maintain its independent economic and political trajectory. Indeed, as scholars have noted on the basis of classical sources, the time from 345 BCE to the Ptolemaic acquisition of four-fifths of mainland Phoenicia, *ca.* 287 BCE, was a time of tumult and devastation for the Phoenician city-states.[23]

Grainger notes that in that time Sidon and Tyre suffered siege and sack and changed masters at least four times. In the process of these perturbations both cities suffered tremendous losses of life and economic strength to the point that the majority of younger men in Phoenician city-states and their naval strength were eradicated. Furthermore, the Ptolemaic rule over the impoverished cities of Tyre and Sidon did not allow as much autonomy as the Persians had allowed in the prior period. In light of these events, the mention of the two city-states in the same context is likely a reflection of the socio-political situation at the end of the Persian period or during the Hellenistic period.

Ezra and Nehemiah

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are also significant for the historical information they provide about the city-states of Tyre and Sidon, because even though they do not use the Persian chronology,[24] they address the Achaemenid period directly. Although these books have been at times associated with the books of Chronicles,[25] there is more of a tendency now among scholars to regard the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as separate compositions independent of Chronicles.[26] Grabbe's position seems very plausible when he states that the two books developed independently, and that it was only the subsequent intent of a later compiler to present the books as one cohesive unit.[27] We might add that the way both texts refer to the population of Tyre and Sidon indicates their early compositional independence of each other as well.

There is only a single reference to Tyrians and Sidonians in the whole book of Ezra (3:7):

> So they gave money to the masons and the carpenters, and food, drink, and oil to the Sidonians and the Tyrians to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea, to Joppa, according to the grant that they had from King Cyrus of Persia. (NRSV)

The Tyrians and Sidonians are mentioned together, in the same idiomatic construction observed in Chronicles, without any sense of separation between the two. The author of Ezra, certainly reflecting the reality of his own late-Persian or early Hellenistic period, speaks of Tyrians and Sidonians as one entity that participated in delivering wood from Lebanon for the construction of the temple and laying its foundations. Both nations are seen as collaborators in the construction of the temple, amicable toward each other, toward Yehud, and toward the religion of the Jews. Thus, the simultaneous allusion to Tyrians and Sidonians in Ezra

corresponds well to the historical situation when the two city-states had lost much of their Persian-period independence and economic competition.

Although Tyrians (but no Sidonians) are spoken of only once in the book of Nehemiah (13:16), the context and attitude of the writer is distinctly different from that of Ezra. The historical passage describing Jerusalem of the Persian period and the struggles of the newly resettled Jewish population to finish the protective walls around Jerusalem speaks of the Tyrians who were conducting trade in fish and other merchandise in Jerusalem on the Sabbath.[28] The Tyrians are mentioned with a rather negative sentiment and are compared to the Judeans who performed work on the day of rest. The negative attitude toward Tyrians and the complete absence of Sidonians in the book of Nehemiah reveal a theological and ideological stance of the author that was uniquely shared among the writers from the Persian or Hellenistic periods. Nehemiah's chief theological concern is obedience to religious law, and in order to deliver this message, he invoked the situation of his own day characterized by the presence of a Tyrian enclave in Jerusalem.

The very presence of a Tyrian enclave outside of Tyre proper is not new, as Herodotus (*Histories* 2:112) notes the presence of the "Camp of the Tyrians" at Memphis, the capital of the Delta region.[29] What makes Nehemiah's reference to the Tyrian presence in Jerusalem valuable historically is the fact that it potentially confirms cultural ties between Tyre and Jerusalem and hints at Tyre developing inland markets.[30] As a rule, close ties between Tyre and Jerusalem are not noted outside of biblical materials, although they are quite prominent in the DtrH. Additionally, Tyre's forays into other areas of the Levant are known from other Persian-period sources, such as the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax. Finally, scholars have noted that the burial chambers and tombs dated to the ninth–eighth centuries BCE in Siloam, on the eastern slopes of the Western Hill, and elsewhere in Jerusalem bear strong affinities with the burials found in Phoenicia, either due to some unidentified Phoenician influence or as a result of Phoenician workmanship.[31] Among other things, the passage in Nehemiah confirms that the Tyrian presence and exchange between Tyrians and Jerusalem continued at least until the end of the Achaemenid period.

Tyre and Sidon in Jewish Prophetic Texts from the Persian and Hellenistic Periods

In addition to the historical texts, several prophetic texts from the Persian and Hellenistic periods refer to the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon.

These texts are similar in their treatment of Tyre and Sidon in the Book of Chronicles and in Ezra and Nehemiah in that they mention the two cities in the same context without much differentiation between them; additionally, they exhibit such subtle historical markers as mentioning Tyre and Sidon alongside Philistine polities.

Joel

One example of the joint coverage of Tyre and Sidon in a manner characteristic of other Persian and Hellenistic period compositions is the book of Joel (Joel 4:4/Eng. Joel 3:4), where the two cities are introduced together with "all the regions of Philistia":

> What are you to me, O Tyre and Sidon, and all the regions of Philistia? Are you paying me back for something? If you are paying me back, I will turn your deeds back upon your own heads swiftly and speedily. (NRSV)

The passage is situated in the second part of the book (Joel 3–4/Eng. Joel 2:28–3:21), which is concerned with the future cosmic battle in retaliation for the destruction of Jerusalem.[32] This part of the book has been frequently dated to the postexilic period because of references to the fall of Judah, the Diaspora, and the return of the exiles.[33]

One of the most valuable pieces of historical information in Joel is his association of the region of Philistia with Tyre and Sidon. Although it can be a mere designation of a coastal stretch from north to south, another possibility is still present. As we have established, the Achaemenid period was a time of continued Phoenician penetration into Philistia, as exemplified by archaeological remains in Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gath.[34] Relying on the excavations reports by Stager and others, Stern notes numerous examples of Phoenician inscriptions and ceramics in Philistia.[35] Most likely, this presence persisted and, in all likelihood, prevailed during the Hellenistic period, complemented by the accelerated immersion of the region into the Greek cultural world and economic competition with Philistine cities.[36] From classical sources, we get an indication that the coastal Levantine entities were variably controlled either by Tyre or Sidon (cf. the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax from the fourth century BCE); therefore, tension between the Phoenician and Philistine coastal cities is quite conceivable. For these reasons, we interpret the reference to the joint affiliation of Tyre and Sidon with the Philistine cities in Joel (and other prophetic materials) as a reflection of the time in which their economic and political rivalry had dissipated, i.e., the late Persian or Hellenistic period. Overall, the Philistine context and the simultaneous reference to both Tyre and Sidon in the section of Joel generally dated to

the postexilic period reinforces the late Persian or Hellenistic dating of the passage and, at the same time, underlines the decline of the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon at the end of the Achaemenid period.[37]

Zechariah

Zechariah is yet another so-called Minor Prophet who alludes to Tyre and Sidon. His manner of coverage of the two city-states is similar to Joel's and reflects the late Persian or Hellenistic period.

Zechariah 9:1-4:
1. An Oracle.
The word of the LORD is against the land of Hadrach
and will rest upon Damascus.
For to the LORD belongs the capital of Aram,
as do all the tribes of Israel;
2. Hamath also, which borders on it,
Tyre and Sidon, though they are very wise.
3. Tyre has built itself a rampart,
and heaped up silver like dust,
and gold like the dirt of the streets
4. But now, the Lord will strip it of its possessions
and hurl its wealth into the sea,
and it shall be devoured by fire. (NRSV)

A simultaneous reference to Tyre and Sidon in Zech. 9:2 and a single mention of Tyre in Zech. 9:3 are found within a major section of the *maúúâ'*- (oracle) genre in the book.[38] The date of this section (chs. 9–14, also referred to as Deutero-Zechariah) is not universally agreed upon, although it is frequently considered to have taken its final form in the Persian period or in the early Hellenistic period, mainly on the basis of Zechariah's literary quality, eschatological overtones, and apocalyptic allusions.[39] Although the description of Tyre in Zechariah 9 with no mention of Sidon would fit the Iron Age as well, other factors point to the Persian period. The passage, similarly to Joel, also speaks of Tyre and Philistia in the same context, thus reflecting the social, economic, and political situation of the late Persian or Hellenistic periods. For example, Zechariah's description of the distress of the cities of Ashkelon, Gaza, and Ekron over Tyre's fall signals the interconnectedness of trade relations between Tyre and polities in Philistia. Another historical indication is the presentation of the city-state of Tyre itself, which Zechariah portrays as a city rich in silver and gold, having a fortress (Zech. 9:3), whose wealth would be cast into the sea and burned with fire (Zech. 9:4). This description reverberates well with the Achaemenid period, during which the city-state of Tyre was a powerful

polity in the Levant, second only to Sidon. If our reading is indeed valid, then the impending doom in Zechariah possibly corresponds to the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great at the end of the Achaemenid period.

Isaiah

The same historical situation of the Persian or Hellenistic periods is reflected in Isaiah 23, a passage that speaks of the fates of the cities of Tyre and Sidon. The chapter, part of the generally accepted portion known as First Isaiah (Isa. 1–39), is included in the pronouncement against the nations (chs. 13–27), in connection with the coming Day of Yahweh.[40] It is adjacent to the long-recognized distinct apocalyptic unit Isaiah 24–27, regarded as one of the latest components of First Isaiah. Although there are such pre-exilic overtones in Isaiah 23 as Tyre's control of Cyprus, the overwhelming majority of the evidence points to the exilic or post-exilic date of the chapter. First, the fifth-century date for the final redaction of the book as a whole is supported by the fact that the universal perspective of the book includes the nations that made up the Persian empire, that its general theological framework presupposes that the temple in Jerusalem has been rebuilt, and that the book is similar to the concerns expressed in Ezra and Nehemiah.[41] Second, Isaiah 23 reflects ideological stances and contains markers that echo the post-exilic period and the literature of that period, such as the DtrH. Just as in the DtrH, the mysterious city of Tarshish is noted as the one that should be wailing for the fate of Tyre (Isa. 23:1; cf. 1 Kgs 10:22). Additionally, the author, in a manner similar to that of the DtrH, is clearly sympathetic toward Tyre and is in distress over its fate. However, the reference in Isaiah 23 of the destruction of Tyre in past terms, looking forward to the time when the city would be restored, points to a possible post-Persian date. Although several suggestions regarding the destruction have been proposed, including Sennacherib's invasion of Phoenicia in 701, Esarhaddon's destruction of Sidon in 678 and siege of Tyre in 672, and the capture of Sidon (!) by Artaxerxes III in 348 or 343,[42] the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE appears the most likely historical context for the chapter. Indeed, the passage portrays Sidon's schadenfreude over Tyre's misfortunes, which we interpret as a reflection of the historical situation at the end of the Achaemenid period, when the city of Sidon was spared but Tyre suffered destruction at the hands of Alexander the Great.

Jeremiah

Several passages from the book of Jeremiah addressing the cities of Tyre and Sidon are reminiscent of other late prophetic works. The first two

examples (Jer. 25:22; 27:3) come from the narrative portion of the book of Jeremiah (chs. 24–45). On the basis of the book's contents and internal clues, scholars usually regard the entire narrative portion of the book of Jeremiah as a work of Jeremiah's personal friend and scribe Baruch, and as reflecting the period from the end of the seventh century BCE to the period shortly after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BCE.[43] More specifically, Chapter 25 is considered to be from the reign of Jehoiakim, whereas Chapter 27 is dated to the reign of Zedekiah on the basis of the dated superscriptions. However, in the first case (Jer. 25:22), both Tyre and Sidon are presented as cities that had already suffered the judgment of Yahweh, a possible indication that it was composed at the end of the Achaemenid period, in the fourth century BCE, in the aftermath of the destruction of Sidon and Tyre. The second reference to Tyre and Sidon (Jer. 27:3) is in a context similar to the passage in the DtrH (2 Kgs 24:18–20). The cities of Tyre and Sidon are among the polities that are commanded to submit to the reign and dominance of Nebuchadnezzar under threat of severe punishment by none other than Yahweh himself. Most certainly, the writer of the Persian period is looking back at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, reinterpreting theologically the historical situation involving the siege of Tyre.[44]

The third mention of the cities of Tyre and Sidon in Jeremiah comes from Jer. 47:4, another late passage that employs the idiomatic expression "Tyre and Sidon":

> because of the day that is coming
>   to destroy all the Philistines,
> to cut off from Tyre and Sidon
>   every helper that remains.
> For the LORD is destroying the Philistines,
>   the remnant of the coastland of Caphtor. (NRSV)

The verse is located within a collection of oracles against foreign nations. Although the collection is reminiscent in form of similar collections in the books of Amos (1:2–2:3), Zephaniah (ch. 2), and Ezekiel (chs. 25–32), as Lundbom (1999: 98–99) noted, Jeremiah's use of the expression "Tyre and Sidon" suggests a post-Persian period of composition or redaction. Moreover, such a late dating is indirectly supported by the proclamation that both Tyre and Sidon were allies of the Philistine cities. Just as in Joel and Zechariah, the Phoenician cities are described as cooperating with the cities in Philistia at the end of the Achaemenid period and in the Hellenistic period.

Tyre and Sidon in Ancient Jewish Texts from the Third and Second Centuries BCE

Several ancient Jewish texts of the third and second centuries BCE allude to either Phoenicia (2 Macc. 3:5, 8; 4:4, 22; 8:8; 10:11; 1 Esd. 2:17, 24, 25, 27; 4:48; 6:3, 7, 27, 29; 7:1; 8:19, 23, 67; 3 Macc. 3:15; 4 Macc. 4:2) or the individual Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon (e.g., Judith 2:28). Generally speaking, all these texts confirm our observation that the ancient Jewish texts from the late Persian and Hellenistic periods present the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon together, referring to them as one polity.[45]

We will note first the Second Book of Maccabees, which addresses the prehistory of the Maccabean revolt from the first quarter of the second century BCE, describing the struggles for leadership of Judea under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Antiochus V Eupator, and Demetrius I Soter, and the encounter of Judaism with Hellenism.[46] As a text from the Hellenistic period, 2 Maccabees speaks of an administrative makeup in which the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon were organized into a polity called "Phoenicia." No distinction is made between the two city-states, as they lacked much individual political and economic importance at the time the book of 2 Maccabees was written.[47]

The Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon are also alluded to as "Phoenicia" in connection with Coele-Syria in 1 Esdras, the two being part of a Persian administrative unit. Although the book covers the historical period from the reform of Josiah through the return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile, most scholars agree that it was written much later, possibly after 165 BCE but no later than the middle of the first century BCE.[48] In addition to Hellenistic values and vocabulary, the book betrays its late character through the manner in which Tyre and Sidon are presented. They are described as a unity, "Phoenicia," an indication of the situation at the end of the Achaemenid period, when the two city-states had lost most of their independence. Thus, although the subject matter of the book is Persian, the form of the narrative is clearly post-Persian and Hellenistic.

The same designation of Tyre and Sidon as "Phoenicia" can be found in the books of 3 and 4 Maccabees, a single reference in each. The two books are different in focus, the former being a "historical romance" that addresses the fate of Egyptian Jews and insists on orthopraxy among them,[49] and the latter dealing with the problem of Jewish assimilation into the new Hellenistic world.[50] What unites them is the temporal context of 200 BCE–50 CE in which they were both written. Thus, the mention of the Phoenician city-states as "Phoenicia" emerges as a standard designation for referring to

the Phoenician city-states collectively in Jewish literature from *ca.* 200 BCE onward.[51]

This notion, however, needs to be further explored in light of the passage in the book of Judith (2:28). Although the book is usually dated to around 200 BCE,[52] it provides a curious allusion to the two cities of Tyre and Sidon as independent entities without resorting to a collective designation "Phoenicia," contrary to the testimony of the books of 2, 3, and 4 Maccabees. The explanation may very well lie in the fact that the book of Judith claims to present a historical account, although what historical period exactly it addresses is unclear, as it manages to address the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods.[53] The mention of the cities of Tyre and Sidon is possibly a case of a writer using an earlier designation for the two cities to make the narrative appear archaic. Another explanation is of a literary nature: the cities were noted to illustrate the scope of Holofernes' campaigns in the Near East. However, the mention of the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon in Judith is in literary tension with other texts originating in approximately the same era.

Summary

All ancient Jewish texts coming from the late Persian and Hellenistic periods refer to the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon as one entity, resorting to the phrase "Sidonians and Tyrians," a historical marker of the texts of those periods, or to the designation "Phoenicia." In doing so, they reflect the historical reality of late-Persian or post-Persian date, when the economic and political trajectories of the two city-states converged in the aftermath of the revolt of Tennes of Sidon (middle of the fourth century BCE) and the destruction of Tyre by Alexander (*ca.* 332 BCE). Stripped of their Persian-period glory, the two city-states were seen in the Hellenistic period by outsiders as one entity with a single common identity and part of the administration division alongside Coele-Syria.

Our analysis of the Chronicler's treatment of Phoenician city-states has demonstrated that his presentation of history is unique in that it contradicts other ancient Jewish sources, as was the case with the gift of cities in Galilee. If we regard the book of Chronicles as a text that reuses and "corrects" the earlier DtrH materials, as Japhet (1993: 621) proposes, then his method of treating texts of tremendous national and religious value, such as the DtrH, is puzzling at best. If we consider, however, the proposals by Auld and Ho,[54] then the Chronicler's narrative presents an equally compelling version of the historical events. Auld and Ho have suggested that both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles used an earlier source, which they each creatively

expanded according to their historical and theological agendas. The Chronicler's use of some unknown *Vorlage* which was also possibly shared by the Deuteronomistic Historian would explain the discrepancy in the stories about the gift of cities.

Equally undetermined is the relationship of the passages concerning Tyre and Hiram in the MT and LXX versions. The LXX, a viable source is its own right, is in very close chronological proximity to the Achaemenid period. It appears that the LXX had a different *Vorlage* from the one used by the MT, since it preserves the spelling of Hiram's name appearing in 1 Kings 9 without changing it to "Huram" found in Chronicles. The LXX also takes a different theological direction by not emphasizing the notion of grateful Gentiles evident in the MT version of Chronicles.

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah have often been regarded as a single composition divided into separate books by later redactors and compilers.[55] However, the differing attitudes toward the Tyrians in the two books confirm a conclusion about divergent compositional histories of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which have been proposed by scholars on other grounds.[56] It is our contention that the ideological coloring that accompanies the description of the Tyrians in Neh. 13:16 indicates that the author employed a source different from the one used by Ezra.

Finally, the same tendency of referring to the city-states of Tyre and Sidon as one entity, which characterizes the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, is also evident in late-Persian and Hellenistic texts. Although the ideological and theological agendas of these texts vary significantly, just as the agendas of the other texts in this section of the chapter do, the fact that they refer to Tyre and Sidon as one entity reflects their chronological proximity to the late-Persian and Hellenistic periods, along with other factors indicative of this dating. An additional feature of the texts dating approximately to the end of the third century BCE and later is their preference for the designation "Phoenicia" as a reflection of the administrative division of the Hellenistic Levant.

Ancient Jewish Texts from the Persian Period

Tyre and Sidon in Persian-Period Historical Jewish Texts

There are other historical texts that offer information similar to that presented by the Chronicler, but with a decidedly different theological and ideological focus. Among these texts are 1 Kgs 5:15–32, 1 Kgs 9:10–28, 1 Kgs 10:11, all of which belong to the DtrH, a composition that significantly

predates the book of Chronicles and is frequently dated to the Neo-Babylonian or Persian periods.[57] Dated in this manner, the DtrH materials present Tyre and Sidon as the two strongest polities in the Achaemenid Levant, each with its own economic and political autonomy. However, a characteristic feature of these texts is their differing sentiments toward Tyre and Sidon.

Tyre is mentioned in the DtrH in connection with two Hirams: Hiram the King of Tyre and Hiram the bronze-worker who made the furnishings for Solomon's temple. Of foremost interest for our research is King Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 5:15–32/Eng. 1 Kgs 5:1–18), who is described as a loyal friend of David and Solomon (1 Kgs 5:15/Eng. 1 Kgs 5:1, see 2 Sam. 5:11) and a supplier of cedar-wood (1 Kgs 5:20/Eng. 1 Kgs 5:6). The DtrH indicates that in spite of his economic strength, King Hiram lacked food for his household, which he requested from King Solomon (1 Kgs 5:23/1 Kgs 5:9), probably on the strength of a treaty that ensured the peaceful relationship and cooperation between the two kings (1 Kgs 5:12/1 Kgs 5:26). At the same time, the DtrH could not help mentioning another Phoenician city-state. In an apparent jab at the Sidonians, King Hiram was said to be in charge of the Sidonians, whom Solomon requested be sent for the building of the temple, since "no one among us knows how to cut trees like Sidonians" (1 Kgs 5:20/Eng. 1 Kgs 5:6). Apparently, it was important for the author of the 1 Kings 5 passage to establish that Tyrians were lording over Sidonians, whether politically or economically, without specifying the details of such a relationship.

The glowing report of Solomon's affiliation and cooperation with King Hiram continues in 1 Kgs 9:10–28. As a recompense for Hiram's providing Solomon with cedar, juniper trees, and an impossibly large amount of gold, Solomon gave Hiram 20 cities in the land of Galilee, called "the land of Cabul" (1 Kgs 9:11–13). The DtrH notes that upon inspection, Hiram, for some unexplained reason, was not pleased with the gift (1 Kgs 9:12). As we have already noted, the DtrH is exhibiting an ideological focus here that is drastically different from the Chronicler's agenda. Whereas the Chronicler reported that it was Hiram (Huram) who gifted the cities to Solomon, the DtrH rather portrays Solomon as the stronger political leader of the two and Hiram as the subservient, yet loyal, ally of Solomon. Indeed, in the latter part of the chapter, Solomon is said to have built his fleet for which Hiram supplied maritime-experienced "servants" (1 Kgs 9:26–27). Together, Solomon and Hiram organized an expedition (or expeditions) to the mysterious land of Ophir, a legendary place frequently appearing in ancient Jewish texts (cf. Job 28:16; Ps. 45:10, Isa. 13:12), whence they brought

large amounts of gold.[58] The account is not entirely consistent, as just a few verses later (1 Kgs 10:11), the fleet carrying the gold appears to be solely Hiram's. Solomon's fleet and Hiram's fleet are noted together again in connection with trade with Tarshish (1 Kgs 10:22), although there is no indication anywhere else in ancient Jewish texts that Solomon participated in Tyre's trade.[59]

Overall, the picture of Tyre as presented by the DtrH is a positive one. Tyre is portrayed as an ally of Israel, Solomon, and also of David (2 Sam. 5:11) – loyal, generous, and usually compliant, the only exception being Hiram's discontent with Solomon's gift of the 20 cities. The DtrH appears to eschew any theological judgment of Tyre and its leaders: no Tyrian gods are discussed and no condemnation is ever expressed regarding Tyrian religious practices. Tyre is described as a prosperous maritime polity with skilled seamen, yet secondary to Solomon's in its economic and political influence.

Quite a different picture emerges when one observes attitudes of the DtrH toward the city of Sidon and Sidonians. Unlike Tyre, which is never designated as such, Sidon is referred to as "great" (ṣîḏôn rabā(h)) in Josh. 11:8, 19:28 and described as a faraway territory to the north (just as in 2 Sam. 24:6). Also in stark contrast to Tyre, Sidon is alluded to with a sharply negative connotation in connection with hostile foreign cults (Judg. 1:31, 10:6, 18:28; 1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kg 23:13). For a greater contrast, these negative passages are at times in close proximity to the positive passages concerning Tyre (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:5). Additionally, the DtrH writer implies that Sidon was an independent polity with no intervening foreign political power dominating it (Judg. 18:7). On the contrary, Sidonians themselves are referred to as oppressors (e.g., Judg. 10:12). The DtrH states that although the Sidonians were a nation that Yahweh would drive out (Josh. 13:4, 6), he still left them in the land in order to test the Israelites (Judg. 3:3). Additionally, in 1 Kgs 17:9, Sidon is described as having jurisdiction over Zarephath (Akk. Ṣariptu; Sarepta, modern Sarafand), a Phoenician city-state which had strong ties to Achaemenid Sidon.

Moreover, Sidonian women are listed among the women that Solomon acquired for himself (1 Kgs 11:1), another indication of Solomon's diplomatic skills in creating alliances through profitable and beneficial associations, and, on the level of artistic expression, further evidence of DtrH's negative attitude toward Sidonians. In fact, the nations whose religious influence was condemned by the DtrH are the same ones whose women Solomon was said to have loved. In a dramatic literary gesture, the DtrH remarks that Jezebel, the epitome of religious apostasy in the

Deuteronomistic History, was a daughter of Ethbaal, King of the Sidonians (1 Kgs 16:31).

In general, Sidon is described in DtrH materials with a sharply negative attitude when compared to the picture of Tyre. In our opinion, one of the clues to understanding such a stance lies in the comparison of similar episodes in the DtrH, Chronicles, and the LXX. The LXX, a translation of an older Hebrew *Vorlage* traditionally dated to the third–second century BCE, omits Sidonians from the list of foreign women in 1 Kgs 11:1. The LXX simply did not regard including the Sidonians in the list of foreign women as part of his message. The same attitude is reflected in the book of Chronicles, which references Sidon only once, but dedicates considerable space to Solomon and his dealings with Hiram (Huram in Chronicles). On the contrary, the DtrH in its Masoretic variant comes across as actively seeking to portray Sidon and Sidonians in a negative light as a reaction by some sector of Judaism against Sidonian overlords in the Persian period. Moreover, the writer of the DtrH dichotomizes the Tyrians and the Sidonians and never uses the Chronicler's construction "the Sidonians and Tyrians" that does not distinguish between them. Thus the three sources of information, the DtrH, the LXX, and the Chronicler, present the same story with different sentiments and historical details.

If we treat the DtrH as a Persian-period composition, what kind of historical information about the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon can we derive from it? Not surprisingly, the DtrH describes Phoenician city-states in a way that is consistent with the testimony of epigraphic and numismatic sources of the Persian period. One of the clearest examples of such consistency is the DtrH's differentiation among the individual Phoenician city-states of Tyre, Sidon, and the much less frequently mentioned Arwad. Avoiding the classical designation "Phoenicia," the DtrH prefers the indigenous Near Eastern identifications of "Canaan," "Canaanites," and "Lebanon" to refer collectively to the land of Phoenicia and its people.[60]

The Tyre-Sidon passages of the DtrH also viably reflect the situation of the Achaemenid period, when the city of Sidon was at its peak of political and economic influence. Striving to appropriate Persian symbols of power and to associate with imperial prestige, Sidonian kings spread their influence throughout the central and southern Levant. Their currencies became widely used and their economic interests along the Levantine coast increased, causing hardship to other Levantine polities, including Yehud. By expressing his strong sentiment against the powerful city of Sidon, the author of the DtrH chose to align the ancient King Solomon with Sidon's

competitor Tyre in a gesture of defiance and resistance to the rising economic and political power of Achaemenid Sidon.

In fact, this sentiment of defiance and disdain toward Sidon can be traced throughout the DtrH account, more specifically in the arrangement of the cult reforms. This arrangement was analyzed in a compelling manner by Hoffmann (1980). Reinforcing Noth's original thesis (1943), Hoffmann sees the Dtr Historian as an exilic or post-exilic theologian who utilized the framework of religious reforms by the kings to express his own theological views. According to Hoffmann, the DtrH materials should be interpreted as depictions of seven positive and seven negative cult reforms, the movement among which is oscillating, with the more extreme swings of the pendulum situated toward the end of the corresponding histories of Israel and Judah (see Figure 5.1). Hoffmann explains tensions in the

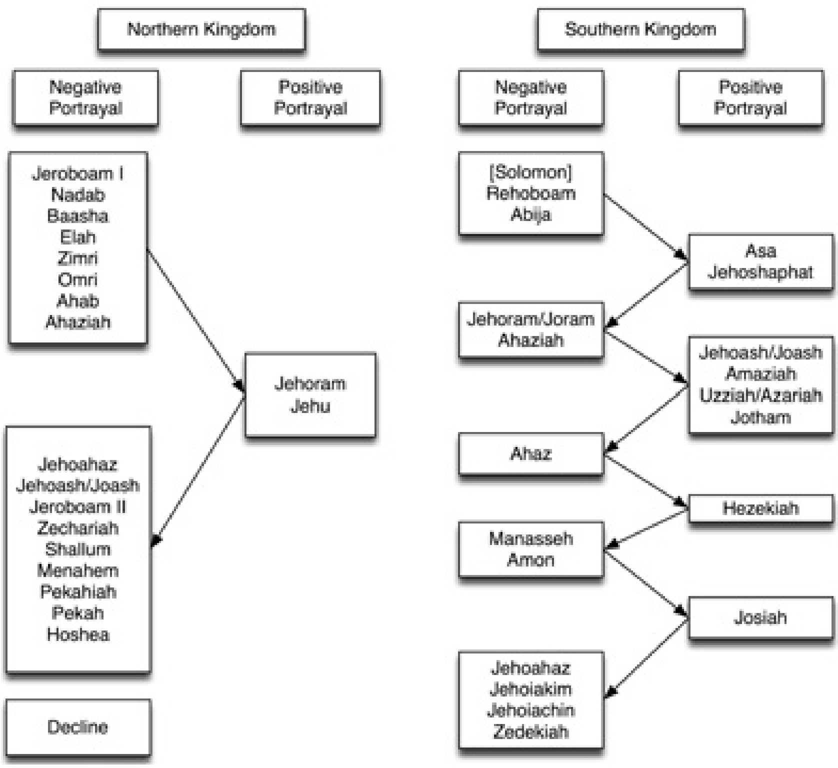


Figure 5.1. Negative and positive portrayals of kings of northern and southern kingdoms in Kings materials. After Hoffmann (1980). Used with permission of H.-D. Hoffmann.

materials by suggesting that the Dtr Historian adapted pre-existing traditions known to him to his theological goals through differing literary adaptations.

What makes Hoffmann's analysis intriguing and useful for this overview is his literary treatment of the cultic texts, which may in turn be helpful in determining the reasons for the DtrH's varied portrayals of Tyre and Sidon. Hoffmann asserts that the cult history of Israel as a whole as presented by the DtrH indicates a very balanced relationship between negative and positive tendencies whose repeated back-and-forth sequence results in a predictable picture of an unsteady, eventful history shaped by the historical representation of the cult in the books of Kings. Each cycle of positive and negative texts culminates in a description of the reign that outdoes the individual measures and tendencies specified before, with the reigns of Manasseh and then Josiah serving as apotheoses of the negative and positive cultic texts, respectively. According to Hoffmann, the DtrH's outline of royal support for or resistance to the religious cult was not coincidental and unmethodical, but a well-planned composition aimed at constructing an imagined cult history of Israel from an exilic/post-exilic perspective.

What Hoffman has not emphasized is the fact that often, when the negative cycle is described in the DtrH, the city of Sidon or its inhabitants are complicit in it. Solomon's downfall is caused by his infatuation with the Sidonian goddess Astarte (e.g., see 1 Kgs 11:5). Also, the wife of Ahab king of Israel, one of the kings receiving the most negative coverage in the DtrH, is said to be Jezebel, a daughter of king Ethbaal of Sidon (1 Kgs 16:31). In fact, the very division of the two kingdoms is partially blamed on the negative religious influence of Sidon's Astarte (1 Kgs 11:33). Moreover, the last "good" king of Judah, Josiah, attempted to put his kingdom back in order by removing all remnants of the worship of the Sidonian goddess Astarte (2 Kgs 23:13). Such a theological and ideological stance in the DtrH corresponds well to the historical situation of the Persian period, when Sidon held the greatest economic and political strength in the Levant. The DtrH's recollection of the influence of Astarte, the traditional goddess of Sidon throughout the first millennium BCE, is very telling in this regard. His condemnation of Astarte's cult rings true when one considers the worship of Astarte prominent in KAI 13 and 14, two Persian-period inscriptions from Sidon, and the spread of Phoenician-style, possibly Sidonian, religious clay figurines (of the eastern group) in Palestine at the beginning of the Persian period.[61]

Such a reading of the DtrH materials addressing the Phoenician city-states against the Persian-period background challenges traditional

interpretations of the early strata of the DtrH pertaining to Phoenicia. Traditional readings place the accession of Solomon in 970 or 960 BCE, aligning the subsequent biblical list of kings against this date and providing a description of the perceived history of Tyre and Sidon.[62] However, archaeological data hardly support such an interpretation of the DtrH materials dealing with Phoenician city-states. As several archaeologists have noted, the Solomonic expansion of the tenth century in the Levant has little archaeological basis.[63]

Moreover, archaeological evidence does not convincingly corroborate the underlying sources for the DtrH account regarding the tenth-century handover by Solomon to Hiram of the land of Cabul, associated with Ḥurbat Rōš Zayit (Rās ez-Zētūn, 10 km/6.2 mi east of Akko). The date of the supposed expansion of some (unidentified) Phoenician (?) peoples in the Akko plain is unclear, but the date of 900 BCE is a likely candidate for the time when such an expansion occurred,[64] which would place the gift of 20 cities in Galilee by Solomon to Hiram in 1 Kgs 9:11 at around 900 BCE. Furthermore, it is entirely unclear whether such a handover ever took place. Material culture remains from the sites in the Akko Plain are similar to the findings from the sites in Phoenicia, indicating the similarity of the cultures for most of the first half of the first millennium BCE.[65] This similarity continued through the Persian period, with the city of Akko eventually subordinating the small villages of the hill country and the mountains.[66] What we probably have in the case of the supposed handover of the land of Cabul is an acknowledgment of the fact that Akko had historically been in the cultural domain of Tyre throughout most of the first millennium BCE.[67] This statement is further supported by the testimony of the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (fourth century BCE), which places Akko in the domain of Tyre. Overall, all these observations cast considerable doubt on the tenth-century date for the account in 1 Kgs 9:11–13. It appears that the best explanation of the passage is that for the purposes of extolling the benevolence of King Solomon, the ancient Jewish account describes the historical dominance of Tyre in the Akko Plain as resulting from a gift from Solomon to his loyal ally.

Reading the DtrH materials as a reflection of the Achaemenid period also supports the conclusion that Jerusalem's association with Tyre at that time was a close one. This conclusion is not entirely new, as scholars have noted several possible ties between Jerusalem and Tyre throughout the first millennium BCE.[68] Additionally, the text of Neh. 13:16 also notes Tyrians living in Jerusalem, possibly indicating the presence of a Tyrian enclave in Jerusalem in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE. Although these

arguments are secondary in nature, they can possibly corroborate the idea of close ties between Jerusalem and Tyre throughout the first millennium down to the Persian period and later. This corroboration partially accounts for the positive description of Tyre in the DtrH. As for Sidon, in addition to its ideologically-laden description, the DtrH points out its greatness and supremacy, either political or economic, congruent with our findings regarding the position of Sidon during the Persian period.

Tyre and Sidon in Persian-Period Jewish Prophetic Texts

In addition to the cited texts from the Persian and Hellenistic periods, several Jewish prophetic books also address socio-historical information regarding Tyre and Sidon. These prophetic books have a complicated history of composition and at times it is not entirely clear what historical period these books reflect. However, their testimony can prove to be useful if we read these books against the historical background of the Achaemenid period. The prophetic books usually portray Tyre and Sidon as competitors in the economic sphere in the Levant, presenting Tyre as a more powerful economic and political entity, relegating weaker Sidon to the background and sometimes mentioning it only as an afterthought.

Amos

This tendency to stress the autonomous character of the Phoenician city-states can be observed throughout the book of Amos, a southern prophet to the north (Amos 1:9), where Tyre is exclusively mentioned and the city-state of Sidon is absent completely:

> Thus says the LORD:
> For three transgressions of Tyre,
> and for four, I will not revoke the punishment;
> because they delivered entire communities over to Edom,
> and did not remember the covenant of kinship. (NRSV)

Although the prophet is for the most part accusatory toward the northern kingdom of Israel, he also pronounces condemnations against peoples that had transgressed against the northern kingdom of Israel in one way or another: Damascus (1:3–5), the Philistines (1:6–8), Edom (1:11–12), Ammon (1:13–15), Moab (2:1–3), and Judah (2:4–5).[69] Besides being one of the condemned peoples, Tyre is also criticized for selling Judean slaves to the Edomites and for its abandonment of the "covenant of brotherhood." This condemnation, and the book as a whole, is generally thought to reflect the political and economic concerns of the eighth century BCE. Some scholars,[70] however, see resemblances of the pronouncement

against Tyre in Amos to oracles against Tyre appearing in contexts roughly contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar (e.g., Jer. 27:3; 47:4, Isa. 23, Ezek. 26:1–28:19, Joel 4:4-8). Indeed, the image of powerful Tyre in Amos appears to correspond to the time *before* Sidon assumed leadership among Phoenician city-states in the Achaemenid period. However, the reference to the "covenant of blood" and the fact that Tyrians sold Judean slaves to the Edomites may, in fact, also indicate a situation of the Achaemenid period. The amicable relationship between Judah and Tyre applauded by the DtrH may presuppose an agreement or a peace treaty between Jerusalem and Tyre, perhaps the "covenant of blood" that Amos is referring to. The lack of firm historical markers in the text of Amos precludes us from making categorical statements regarding the exact historical situation alluded to in Amos.

Ezekiel

One of the lengthiest descriptions of the cities of Tyre and Sidon is found in the book of Ezekiel (Ezek. 26–28). In these chapters, Ezekiel prophesies the future siege and destruction of the city of Tyre (Ezek. 26), predicts the consequences of such an event for Mediterranean trade (Ezek. 27) and for the city of Tyre internally (Ezek. 28), and utters a prophecy of destruction against Sidon (Ezek. 28:21–24). Correlating the book against the historical events accompanying Nebuchadnezzar's punitive raid into the Levant, scholars usually, though not universally, date the composition of the book to either the Babylonian exile or shortly thereafter, situating Ezekiel's time somewhere in the first part of the sixth century BCE.[71] The historical context of Ezekiel's oracles, however, is far from clear. It could be the middle of the sixth century BCE in the aftermath of the siege of Tyre, or the Achaemenid period, with the prophesied destruction of Tyre alluding to Alexander's siege and destruction of Tyre in 332 BCE.

Ezekiel's description of Tyre is conditioned by his general theological goals, which are different from those of the DtrH and P, the two sources to which Ezekiel has often been connected.[72] In our opinion, the connections between Ezekiel, the D/DtrH, and P are largely non-existent. Firstly, D's/DtrH's concepts of priesthood, kingship, and the role of prophets differ sharply from P's stance. Second, scholars have noted that P and D/DtrH are different in foci, since P is more concerned with priestly authority and ideology, whereas D's/DtrH's focus is on the centralization of worship and on the establishment and maintenance of strict moral guidelines.[73] Third, Ezekiel does not appear to be aware of D/DtrH and, therefore, could not have used it in his composition. Judging by Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre, we

may point out that the only theme linking the DtrH and Ezekiel is Tyre's maritime nature, which is acknowledged and extolled in both accounts. In many other instances, there are differences that indicate the independence of the two documents as far as the treatment of Tyre is concerned. For one, no ruler is named in the Ezekiel passage. The illustrious King Hiram is nowhere to be found; the passage in Ezekiel that addresses the magnificence of Tyre throughout its history ignores the quintessential Tyrian king of the DtrH. Second, the city of Tyre receives a scathing critique in Ezekiel, an attitude hardly appearing in the DtrH. Additionally, Ezekiel never mentions Ophir as Tyre's trade partner, although it appears on more than one occasion in the DtrH (e.g., 1 Kgs 9:28, 1 Kgs 10:11, 1 Kgs 22:49/Eng., 1 Kgs 22:48). These instances are hardly simple omissions on the part of the author of Ezekiel. They indicate different theological agendas, sources, and times of composition for Ezekiel's oracles against Tyre and Sidon and D/DtrH's accounts of Hiram and Tyre.

Scholars have noted that it is very difficult, if not indeed impossible, to correlate prophetic books to historical situations, as their production is first and foremost a literary process.[74] The same observation can possibly be made regarding the book of Ezekiel, although we maintain that it is also possible to extract at least several confirming historical clues from his account of Tyre and Sidon. Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre contains a prophecy regarding the coming siege and destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, whose name appears in the oracle (Ezek. 26:7). Most scholars place the end of the 11-year siege (according to Ezek. 26:1) or 13-year siege (according to Josephus' *Against Apion*, 1.21) around 572 or 573 BCE.[75] Although Ezekiel's oracles speak of the coming destruction of Tyre at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar after the siege, historical documents do not support Ezekiel's prophecy. No sources, literary or archaeological, exist that would indicate that Tyre experienced anything more than a possible deportation of its elite, which was the Neo-Babylonian manner of dealing with subjugated peoples.[76] The only instance of Tyre's destruction that is supported by numerous literary sources is the destruction by Alexander the Great at the end of the Achaemenid period. Therefore, Ezekiel's literary perspective is that of a person who, while witnessing the siege of Jerusalem (Ezek. 24:2), is looking forward to the time when the city of Tyre would be besieged and destroyed. Aside from theological explanations, this picture is historically unclear at best, making any period, including the Persian, only a possible time to which Ezekiel is referring in his oracle against Tyre.

Yet placed against the Persian period, Ezekiel's oracle might reveal much about Tyre. The city is described as a powerful maritime player (ḥazâqâ(h)

ḇayyâm), a great trader, and a haughty nation whose downfall is at hand. Although the text of Chapter 27, the primary source of information regarding Tyrian trade both in Ezekiel and in the entire Hebrew Bible, is abundant in *hapax legomena* due to its technical nature, some historical information can be deduced from it. For example, Liverani, who dates the events described in Ezekiel 27 to the years 610–585 BCE,[77] presents Tyrian trade visually in several geographic belts (see Figure 5.2).[78]

According to this arrangement, the Phoenician coastal cities of Sidon, Arwad, Byblos, and, perhaps Ṣumur, which are located within the boundaries of the first belt, supply sailors for Tyrian ships (Ezek. 27:8–9). The second belt includes the inland mountains (Lebanon, Senir, Bashan), Cyprus (Elisha, Kittim), and Egypt, all of which supply raw materials (Ezek. 27:5–7). The lands and countries of the third belt (Put, Lud, and Pâras) are among those that provide troops for the defense of Tyre (Ezek. 27:10).

At the same time, the list of Tyrian trade partners that follows (Ezek. 27:12–24) appears archaic and distorted, as Liverani rightfully notes. Some of Tyre's most likely trading partners, Tunisia, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, the territories in which Tyrians had established their presence and influence by the sixth century BCE as scholars have argued (see Figure 5.3),[79] are

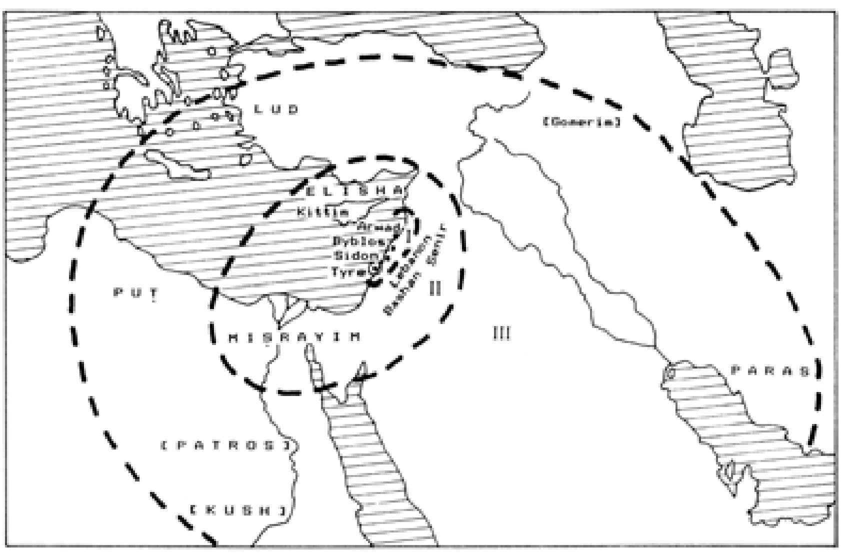


Figure 5.2. Tyrian trade according to Ezek. 27:1–11. From Liverani (1991: 67, Figure 1). Reproduced with permission of Magnes Press.

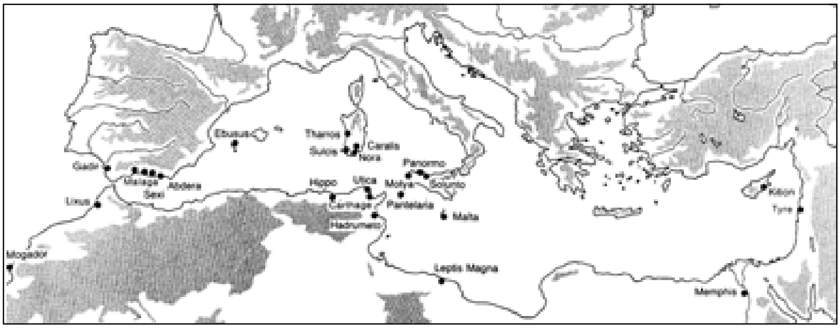


Figure 5.3. Phoenician (Tyrian?) expansion into the Mediterranean. From Aubet (2001: 160, Figure 34). Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press.

absent from the passage. Given the possible Persian-period historical background for Ezekiel's oracle, the reduced list of trade partners represents the post-siege picture of a weaker Tyre. In addition, the reading Pâras in Ezek. 27:10 is yet another indication that Ezekiel's description of Tyrian trade and trade partners reflects the Persian period.[80]

Finally, another argument for the interpretation of Ezekiel's oracles as a reflection of the Persian-period historical background is the sentiment he expresses against Sidon (Ezek. 28:20-24). Compared to the oracle against Tyre, Ezekiel's condemnatory rhetoric against Sidon is rather subdued; it reads as an afterthought tacked on to the main set of oracles, either to bring the number of the condemned nations to seven or to complement his list of condemned coastal polities.[81] In spite of such a cursory treatment, Ezekiel's oracle against Sidon is harsh, because he is seemingly directing his wrath against Sidon's religious practices (Ezek. 28:22: "I will manifest my holiness in her ..."). The subject of this condemnation is Sidon's Astarte, whose cult is well attested for the Persian-period Levant.

Summary

In general, the historical and prophetic texts dating to the Achaemenid period and, possibly, later present the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon as two independent and competing polities and powerful maritime players. However, the differences in the portrayal of the two city-states are accentuated by the theological and ideological agendas of the authors and the socio-historical contexts in which they wrote.

This tendency to resort to messages that vary in sentiment is a characteristic feature of the Kings materials. In them, the DtrH expresses

an apparent, but not explicitly mentioned, resistance to the dominance of Sidon and, simultaneously, Jerusalem's alignment with Tyre. Read as Persian-period texts, the Kings materials correspond well to the historical reality of the Persian period, when the city of Sidon held preeminence among Phoenician city-states. An added historical observation from these texts is the close association and interaction between Tyre and Jerusalem, a valuable observation only hinted at by the extant material culture remains.

Jewish prophetic materials demonstrate a range of theological and ideological sentiments toward the city-states of Tyre and Sidon. Less inclined to depict Tyre as a benevolent ally of Jerusalem's kings, they describe Tyre as an ominous maritime polity that was sure to undergo Yahweh's judgment. A reader will see the fulfillment of their doomsday scenarios concerning Tyre if these passages are interpreted against the historical background of the siege and destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great at the end of the Achaemenid period. A unifying feature of the prophetic materials is their reserved coverage of Sidon. When Sidon does appear in prophetic materials, it is usually condemned for the influence of its national deity Astarte. The limited references to Sidon can also possibly be explained either by the writers' unwillingness to portray Sidonian overlords in a negative light or by their intense interest in Tyre, a long-standing ally of Jerusalem, and its upcoming demise.

Conclusion

Ancient Jewish materials reveal diachronic and multiple ideological variations in the way writers describe the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon. Our analysis suggests that these variations were preserved in final editions of these texts perhaps unnoticed and/or unchanged by final redactors.

Three major groupings of materials addressing the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon can be identified in ancient Jewish texts. The first grouping, represented primarily by Amos and the book of the prophet Ezekiel, portrays the city-states of Tyre and Sidon in terms of their socio-economic competition. However, Tyre is the one that receives most of the attention, possibly due either to its considerable economic status among other Levantine entities or to the lively interest in the history of a traditional ally of Jerusalem on the part of the prophets. Although it is not entirely clear when these compositions emerged, an Achaemenid historical background for their final composition is likely. The second large grouping, comprised of the writings of the Deuteronomistic Historian,

also differentiates between the two Phoenician city-states, but with an orientation that indicates a socio-historical situation closely corresponding to the Achaemenid period, a situation in which a stronger Sidon dominated, while weaker Tyre was potentially more closely aligned politically and economically with Jerusalem. Such an alignment could possibly have served as a counterbalance to or as an expression of reality of the Sidonian influence in the Levant. Finally, the third category of ancient Jewish materials ceases to distinguish between the cities of Tyre and Sidon, preferring to refer to them as the collective "Tyrians and Sidonians." This frozen phrase reflects the post-Persian period when both of the cities had lost most of their economic and political autonomy and were overtaken by the rising dominance of Hellenism in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest of the Levant at the end of the fourth century BCE. Thus socio-historical images of the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon in ancient Jewish texts correspond to the changing historical situation as we know it from independent witnesses. Table 5.1 summarizes our conclusions.

The subject matter of ancient Jewish texts is very important for these conclusions, since when ancient Jewish authors write about an event, they do so in its aftermath. Furthermore, we should also note here that not every ancient Jewish text was created *ex nihilo*, without prior sources or redactions. What is important is the fact that all of them to some degree were impacted by the Persian period.

Of course, given the complexity of ancient Jewish texts and the ultimate uncertainty of their provenance, both geographical and temporal, possibilities still remain that our assumptions about their Persian and post-Persian period dating are conjectural. After all, it is next to impossible to prove conclusively one presupposition about dating of biblical texts over another. Be that as it may, the circumstantial evidence, the likely probability,

Table 5.1. Changing sentiment towards Tyre and Sidon in ancient Jewish texts

Historical Period	*Dominant Sentiment*
Early Persian Period (Amos, Ezekiel)	Tyre and Sidon competing; Tyre receiving most of the attention.
Persian Period (the DtrH)	Stronger, possibly oppressive or dominating Sidon; Tyre closely aligned with Jerusalem.
Late Persian and Hellenistic Periods (e.g., Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Joel, Zechariah, Isaiah 23, Jeremiah, etc.)	Tyre and Sidon referred to as one geo-political unit ("Phoenicia" and "Phoenicians").

and corroboration from other sources of information allows us to place the biblical texts referencing Tyre and Sidon in the Persian or early Greek setting.

In a stark contrast to the positions expressed by other authors of the Persian period, such as classical writers (Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, etc.), ancient Jewish writers reveal their peculiar and unique stances in their treatment of the city-states of Tyre and Sidon. First, they demonstrate a more nuanced view of the histories of Tyre and Sidon by highlighting at times their independent and competitive status toward each other. Second, the view of these writers is decidedly Near Eastern, revealing a terminology (e.g., the designation "Canaan" in 1 Chr. 1:13 and the individual city-names of Tyre and Sidon) indigenous to the region while avoiding existing classical designations such as *Phoenicia* and *Phoenicians*. Only later Jewish compositions dated to the Hellenistic period resort to the designations *Phoenicia* and *Phoenicians,* most likely under the cultural influence of Hellenism.

Our overview of ancient Jewish materials strongly suggests that the intertextual correspondence of ancient Jewish and other historical sources is mutually illuminating; the information from archaeological, numismatic, classical, and epigraphic sources regarding Tyre and Sidon affects how we read ancient Jewish texts, and our reading of ancient Jewish texts refines our understanding of the history of Achaemenid Phoenicia.[82] For example, while it is often assumed that the DtrH portrays Tyre and Sidon socio-politically prior to Tyre's surrender to Nebuchadnezzar in 573 BCE, the case may be otherwise. If one assumes a greater degree of rhetorical flair in the account of Solomon's relations with Tyre (Hiram) in 1 Kings, it is very plausible that the writer was alluding to a Yehud-Tyre alliance as a counterbalance to Sidon's new political and economic status in the Achaemenid period. At the same time, the spread of Sidonian religious influence (e.g., the cult of Astarte) and coinage in the Levant, along with the testimony of classical sources (e.g., Herodotus, *Histories* VIII.67; VII.96 and Diodorus Book XVI.41.4–6; 45.3–6) affirm that Tyrian economic dominance of the Phoenician coast waned significantly in the aftermath of the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar as Sidon was in the process of establishing itself in the position of economic and political supremacy that would last until the dawn of the Hellenistic age.

Chapter 6

A Social History of Achaemenid Phoenicia: A Summary and a Proposal

In these chapters, we have combined evidence from all major sources of our knowledge about Achaemenid Phoenicia in order to arrive at a viable socio-historical picture of Achaemenid Phoenicia. Modeled after Elayi and Sapin's book on Transeuphratene studies (1998), our methodology strives to treat each source of socio-historical information on its own terms and thus seeks to avoid elevating one source of information over others. As much as possible, we tried to align all of these often linguistically, historically, and ideologically disparate sources with each other, in order to complement and clarify social and historical information contained therein. At times, this task was tantalizing since we had to wade through various agendas and biases – some better concealed than others – to analyze the socio-political developments on three levels of Phoenician society: the household, the city-state, and the imperial administrative unit. It is our hope that the study has resulted in some proposals that may contribute to Achaemenid, Hellenistic, and general historical studies and to our understanding of the social, economic, and political processes not only in Persian-period Phoenician city-states, but also in the wider Levant and the "globalizing" eastern Mediterranean region.

Socio-Political Developments in Achaemenid Phoenicia

Although the three social divisions (the household, the city-state, and the imperial administrative unit) are not exhaustively representative of such a complicated notion as "social history," they nevertheless allow for a structured presentation of the social history of the Persian-period Phoenician city-states. Our general conclusion is that all three levels continued with little changes from the time of the previous Babylonian empire and underwent little impact under the Persian empire.[1] However, the changes that did occur were significant, as they reveal the *Zeitgeist* that characterized the sixth–fourth centuries BCE in the Levant.

Household

The Phoenician household in the Persian period was characterized by continuity from the Neo-Babylonian period and bore a strong similarity with household material culture artifacts from other parts of the Levant. A typical house in a Phoenician city-state throughout the first millennium BCE was a modest three- to four-room construction located close to a marketplace and the coast. Most likely, with intensified economic activity between the end of the fifth century and the end of the first quarter of the fourth century BCE, the Phoenician household grew in size. The same period was characterized by the increase of Phoenician urban settlements, which attracted population growth by providing opportunities in trade and shipbuilding, and by the related likely movement of the population away from rural regions. Although some grain was still produced for export in Phoenician city-states, engagement in agriculture significantly diminished, as most written sources on Achaemenid Phoenicia choose to concentrate either on Phoenician involvement in trade or sea-faring. Phoenician agricultural products, whatever their quantity, failed to impress the ancient world. Generally speaking, the spread of urbanized Phoenician settlements during the Achaemenid period, accompanied by the expanding reach of Phoenician cultural influence, is archaeologically traceable from northern Syria to Gaza but is most pronounced in the area from the Akko Plain southward. The evidence for Phoenician urbanized cultural penetration northward into traditionally Syrian (Aramean) territories is not as clear, although an Iron-Age bilingual (Phoenician and Hittite) inscription from Karatepe may indicate early Phoenician forays there. During the Persian period, Phoenician cultural expansion still remained a slow process, which was counterbalanced by Greek cultural influences and possibly indigenous Aramean resistance.

Religion

In the religious sphere, a new syncretism gradually affected an otherwise stable cult dedicated to traditional Phoenician city deities. One example of this syncretism, quite likely a consequence of growing Sidonian cultural influence throughout the Levant, is the expanded adoption and veneration of Astarte, Sidon's traditional deity, in Persian-period Tyre and Byblos. Although Astarte and her various manifestations are attested in the Levant and beyond throughout the entire first millennium BCE, the wide in scope spread of the cult of Astarte proper in Achaemenid Phoenicia is remarkable, as it is indicative of the growing cultural and economic impact of the city-state of Sidon, which gradually affected the religious sphere of Phoenician

city-states. The process of adoption of the cult of Astarte throughout Phoenician city-states was, at the same time, an extension of the cultural eclecticism and cosmopolitanism that generally characterized the population of Achaemenid Phoenicia.

Another noteworthy characteristic of Achaemenid-era Phoenician societies, possibly rooted in religious worldview, was their treatment of women. Although quite possibly an extension of the veneration of the female deities Astarte and Baalat Gubal, the attitude toward women was remarkable, as they were highly regarded in Phoenician societies, a phenomenon rather unusual for the ancient Mediterranean world.[2] As the inscriptions of Eshmunazor and Batnoam demonstrate, women occupied high royal posts and often were in charge of the affairs of the city-states of Sidon and Byblos. Although quite possibly a reflection of specific historic circumstances, this fact still bears mentioning, even if briefly.

Social Stratification

While in general the population of Phoenician city-states was characterized by cosmopolitanism and eclecticism of taste, it was economically and socially stratified. The lack of hard proof notwithstanding, the circumstantial evidence is convincing. For example, there was a clear divide in artistic and cultural preferences between the elite and the commoners. The former leaned toward consuming products of styles and types from Egypt, the Aegean, and Persia, i.e., foreign goods and their imitations which were considered prestige goods and which were in high demand. The commoners, on the other hand, showed a preference for the local, more affordable, mass-produced goods.

Another manifestation of social stratification in Phoenician societies is the spread of literacy, which, we argue, affected only very limited segments of the population. Although we do have royal inscriptions that suggest the presence of literate segments among the Phoenicians, they are insufficient to allow pronouncements regarding widespread literacy. Some scholars (e.g., Elayi and Sapin 1998) have argued that widespread Phoenician literacy existed, but that all evidence for it disappeared owing to the fragile nature of papyrus. However, the extremely limited Phoenician inscriptional evidence written by commoners on potsherds dating to the Persian period seriously undermines this proposal. Also, even in their limited number the inscribed potsherds do not indicate that the person who was able to write his or her name was fully literate.[3]

On the basis of the available evidence we propose that literacy in Achaemenid Phoenicia was functional, aiming to satisfy the immediate

economic, cultural, and political needs of the elite, royal houses, and, possibly, skilled craftsmen and traders. Literacy in Phoenicia was very limited, just as it was in Persian-period Greece, and it served primarily for writing contracts, expressions of religious veneration, and recognition and expression of supremacy and obeisance.[4] These needs could easily be satisfied by a limited number of trained scribes employed by the royalty, temples, or merchants.

There is no compelling evidence that Persian-period Phoenician city-states had either the preconditions for the expansion of literacy, such as the means for easy diffusion of written texts, or any educational system to enable it. The economic conditions of Phoenician city-states simply did not necessitate a wide presence of semi-educated masses. In fact, the limited level of literacy in Phoenicia, accessible for the most part to skilled craftsmen and scribes, can be appropriately described by Harris' terminology of *craftsman's literacy*, which is much more limited in scope than general literacy.[5] The two likely strata of population affected by craftsman's literacy in Phoenicia were skilled artisans, who were generally more literate than the rest of the population, and scribes, who were responsible for the transmission of correspondence among the elite. Whereas the majority of the population, especially in the hinterland, was illiterate, it is likely that some of the population were able to recognize written words on coinage and inscriptions and reproduce them with some degree of accuracy. These abilities, however, do not by themselves equal widespread, fully functional, literacy. One must also consider the possibility that the Phoenician elite might have discouraged the literacy of other social segments in order to preserve their status.

Although the Persian period did not witness widespread literacy in Phoenician societies, it was a time when the preconditions for it emerged. One such precondition was the reaction in the Levant to Hellenistic cultural influences, which most likely followed the penetration of imported material goods from the Aegean in the Persian period. For example, in Yehud one of the reactions to the encroachment of Hellenistic influences was the expansion of educational systems by Hellenistic Judaism.[6] Given the general atmosphere of Phoenician cosmopolitanism, it is highly unlikely that the Phoenician reaction to the Aegean cultural influences was anything close to the negativity witnessed in Yehud (at least as Carr argues). Quite on the contrary, the acceptance and eventual embracement of Aegean influences on the part of the Phoenician population created a cultural atmosphere in which literacy could be spread with greater ease. It is not surprising, then, that in the Hellenistic period, Phoenician

city-states followed the same tendency for expansion of literacy as the Greek world did.[7] Some of the probable factors in this process in Phoenicia were the diminishing control over the spread of literacy on the part of the weakened local elites and the necessity to receive and respond to the communications of the emerging foreign (Greek) political authorities.

Political and Administrative Makeup

Several important conclusions can be made regarding the issue of political autonomy of Phoenician city-states. Just as they did throughout the first half of the first millennium BCE, Phoenician city-states remained independent of each other in the Achaemenid period. At the same time, as they maintained mutual cooperation in pursuing their economic goals within the context of the Persian empire, they were also engaged in economic competition with each other as they each sought to gain access to new markets and spheres of economic influence. Among the most powerful and most competitive polities in the Achaemenid period were the city-states of Tyre and Sidon. Tyre, having lost its preeminence among Phoenician city-states after Nebuchadnezzar's siege of the early sixth century BCE and the subsequent deportation of its elite to Babylon, held second place to Sidon, both economically and politically, throughout most of the Achaemenid period. The only period in which Tyre could conceivably have regained dominance among coastal Levantine polities was the second half of the fourth century, after Sidon had been devastated in the aftermath of the punitive action by Artaxerxes III.[8]

In the Persian period, it was the city-state of Sidon that emerged as the most significant economic and political entity on the Levantine coast, although other Phoenician city-states also participated in the economic expansion that engulfed the coast of Palestine from the beginning of the fifth century BCE.[9] Through their considerable contribution to the Persian naval might, both by building ships and by participating in the military actions of the Persian kings, Sidonian kings were able to garner significant political capital in the eyes of Persians. As the classical sources indicate, Persians possibly maintained a *paradeisos* in Sidon,[10] and the city was likely the place from where the formal administration of the Fifth satrapy was carried out. Sidon's winning strategy was its politics of compliance and non-resistance to the ruling authorities in the region, which they practiced not only in the Achaemenid period but also throughout the first half of the first millennium BCE. In the Achaemenid period, however, Sidon was able to capitalize shrewdly on the ideological program of the Persian kings in order to secure their mercantile interests. By using elements of Persian

imperial imagery on their coinage, Sidonian kings were able to publicize internationally their compliance with the Persian imperial program aimed at extolling the Great King. However, rather than aiming exclusively at using their monetary instruments for external purposes, such as paying the rowers of the Persian fleet employed by the empire as Wallinga (1987) proposed, this political move was largely internal. In the immediate Levantine context, this imperial ideology was employed locally by Sidon in order to maintain economic, religious, and political supremacy in the region. After all, Sidon had already made inroads into the cultural landscape of other Phoenician city-states. The cults of Sidonian deities, such as Astarte and Eshmun, became increasingly popular not only among Phoenician cities, but in the rest of the Levant as well. Additionally, as our overview of archaeological evidence from the Levantine coastal sites has demonstrated, the Sidonian presence there probably meant control of trade routes in other hinterland polities, such as Yehud. This growing economic, cultural, political, and religious dominance and control of the Levant by Sidon did not go unnoticed or without reaction by ancient Jewish writers and redactors who in their writings expressed displeasure and angst regarding a strong, menacing Sidon of the Achaemenid period.

In spite of Sidon's dominance in the economic sphere, other Phoenician cities were still able to pursue their economic interests on the international scene, mainly by engaging in close trade contacts with Greece and importing Greek pottery and other material culture objects. Tyre in particular was extensively vested in its relations with Greece, as demonstrated by its coinage, which bears strong iconographical similarities with Athenian coinage. This exchange most certainly took place through the port of Tyre and through other seaside outlets, such as the city of Ashkelon, which the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax calls a "city of the Tyrians."

Sidon also maintained its ties with Athens, their relations intensifying in the first quarter of the fourth century BCE. This development was one of the factors that contributed to the eventual rupture of relations between Sidon and the Achaemenid Empire, since the Great King could not tolerate one of his vassals aligning with his archenemy.

The character of Persian control of Phoenician city-states is one of the most important issues that this study addresses. After all, there is evidence that suggests that Persians were physically present in Phoenicia, most notably in Sidon, during the sixth–fourth centuries BCE, with the most pronounced presence in the fourth century BCE. Furthermore, Herodotus speaks of the Fifth satrapy of the Persian empire, which included Phoenicia. Phoenician city-states collaborated closely with the central imperial

authorities on the execution of several economic projects, including the long-term task of maintaining the fleets of individual city-states and those of Persia. However, we maintain that there are no indications of an exceedingly heavy-handed Persian rule in Phoenicia. Indeed, both the evidence from the preceding Neo-Babylonian period and the Persian-period data points to a largely autonomous character of Phoenician polities under the Persian empire.

As has been noted by a number of scholars, the Neo-Babylonian Empire practiced a rather relaxed style of administration in the Levant.[11] Nebuchadnezzar's policies there were motivated primarily by the intent to safeguard his possessions against Egyptian incursions rather than to ensure the economic exploitation of conquered lands.[12] Indeed, the large amount of Egyptian-style artifacts discovered from Phoenician city-states confirms that Egypt continued to exert its economic, if not also its cultural, influence on the Levant not only in the Neo-Babylonian period, but also in the Achaemenid period, as coinage and sarcophagi indicate.[13] It appears that the Persian authorities, when they arrived on the scene, were either reluctant or unable to counteract Egyptian cultural influence in Phoenician city-states.

From classical sources we know that Achaemenid authorities established territorial divisions within Persia's subject territories. It is unclear, however, whether the Levant was reorganized according to pre-existing Neo-Babylonian divisions or whether it received new organizational structures and status. On the one hand, Hoglund suggests that Achaemenid authorities performed the territorial and administrative reshaping of the pre-existing Neo-Babylonian dependencies.[14] On the other hand, Vanderhooft (2003), using Yehud as an example, proposes that the Neo-Babylonian policy of withdrawal, confrontation, and destruction did not include any administrative organization of its territories and that the situation remained this way until the end of Babylonian rule. Vanderhooft's proposal is convincing, as no other Neo-Babylonian appointees to the southern Levant are known outside of the ancient Jewish sources.[15] He further argues that the situation changed in the Persian period when Yehud became a new province with its own local administrative apparatus, which did not exist during the Neo-Babylonian occupation. Vanderhooft's proposal corresponds well to the picture of the neglected Neo-Babylonian-period Levant emerging from material culture as well.[16] Similarly, the idea of a new administrative organization of the Levant in the Persian period resonates well with what we have established concerning Persian-period Phoenician city-states. Persian authorities immediately organized the

Phoenician city-states into a loose confederacy, which survived throughout most of the sixth century and most of the first quarter of the fifth century BCE. In 482 BCE, after Xerxes had suppressed the revolt in Babylon,[17] this confederacy was transformed into a federation of Phoenician city-states under the formal leadership of Sidon in recognition of the city's contribution to Persian military causes. However, toward the end of the fifth century BCE and the beginning of the fourth century BCE, the city-state of Sidon took several steps to secure greater independence from Persian taxation and dominance, perhaps inspired to a large degree by Egypt's rebellion against the Persian empire *ca.* 464–454 BCE.[18] The consequences of such a move by Sidon were disastrous, as it led to the crushing of the rebellion of its king, Tennes of Sidon, and the destruction of the city by Artaxerxes III.

How, then, did this autonomy function? Some scholars have proposed that the Achaemenids preferred a *laissez-faire* style of governance, according to which routine economic and political affairs were relegated to local ruling houses.[19] Other scholars insist that the Persian empire either controlled some aspects of local political affairs, such as the creation and issuance of laws,[20] or carried out the governance of subjugated lands through bureaucrats appointed by the Great King.[21] As for the Persian-period Phoenician city-states, scholars have generally supported the idea of a considerable degree of independence on their part from the empire.[22] One of the major supports for this argument of independence has been the existence of Phoenician trading activity in the Levant and the Mediterranean, which undoubtedly was a lucrative source of revenue for the Achaemenids.[23] Agreeing in general with the previous proposals, we have adopted the terminology of *managed autonomy* to refer to the Achaemenid policy in Phoenicia and have proposed further support and clarification for them. By "managed autonomy" we mean a system wherein Phoenician city-states were allowed to run their affairs largely unhindered. The only stipulations from the central Persian authorities were Phoenician collaboration on imperial economic and military projects and timely payment of tribute.

Several factors point to such an arrangement. First, the population of Phoenician city-states was able to maintain its indigenous cultural distinctiveness throughout most of the Achaemenid period. For example, in religious life, Phoenician city-states were able to continue their traditional religious affiliations (Tyre with Melqart and Sidon with Astarte). Second, independent production of coinage among Phoenician city-states indicates that they were able to run their economies autonomously. Third,

the absence of a uniform weight standard among assemblages of coinage from Phoenician city-states is yet another indication of the decentralized character of monetary exchange among Phoenician city-states in the Persian period and the absence of direct, hands-on imperial control over them. Fourth, nowhere in Phoenician epigraphic evidence, which frequently details changes introduced to various temples, is there an indication of the presence or activity of Persian imperial officials.

This is not to say that Persian imperial impact was absent in Phoenicia. On the contrary – we actually argue *for* Persian influences in Achaemenid Phoenicia but emphasize that there is no evidence that the empire was involved in any direct and sustained manner in Phoenician affairs. The same cosmopolitanism that led to the adoption of foreign pottery styles in Phoenicia was responsible for the presence of Persian architectural elements there as well. If Persian representatives were residing in Phoenician city-states (the evidence for which is largely absent outside of classical sources), their outposts served primarily as symbols of Persian power rather than as controlling offices. There was no pressing need for the empire to control Phoenicia intensely. Rather, the population of Phoenician city-states, under the benevolent protection of the Persians, was engaged in lively economic and trade activity (from which Persia benefited immensely), exchanging goods in the Mediterranean, providing shipping services, and managing the Persian fleet that was most likely docked on the Phoenician coast.

The evidence for this model of *managed autonomy*, which presupposes reciprocity on the parts of both the empire and Phoenician city-states, is paralleled in other parts of the Persian empire. For example, the numismatic evidence from many polities in the eastern Mediterranean preserves numerous examples of the Persian imperial iconography, including images of the Heroic Encounter and the chariot. On the other hand, the presence of these images does not necessitate tight control of territories and resources by the Persian empire. A relevant example is Achaemenid Sardis, where the Persian imperial influence on social life is quite evident through the material culture objects. Dusinberre (2003: 198) writes:

> The creation of a new administrative structure at Sardis is attested in ancient literary sources and left profound marks on the material record of Achaemenid-period Sardis, as we have seen. The new ideology of the Achaemenid Empire was signified in artistic objects, particularly those intended for public display such as appliqués on clothes and sealstones. Further manifestations of Achaemenid ideas and culture systems included the introduction of funerary couches and the probable association of eternal banqueting with mortuary ritual, and the use of the Achaemenid bowl for drinking by people of many different social ranks.

In spite of this adoption of imperial iconography and style, as Dusinberre demonstrated on the basis of iconographic evidence, the imperial impact was not all-encompassing, as it left room for expressions of resistance to imperial ideology.[24] Similarly, the presence of Persian imperial iconography in Phoenicia did not necessarily entail extensive imperial control of its territory. A pertinent example is the Sidonian rebellion of the mid-fourth century BCE which was limited in scope and barely spread to the other Phoenician city-states. In no way can this revolt be explained by the pervasive and oppressive control of Sidon by the Persians. Instead, it was an attempt by a single local king to disassociate himself and his city-state from the formal suzerainty of the Great King, perhaps under the influence of similar rebellions in Egypt and increasingly closer ties with Athens.

Contribution to Achaemenid Studies

Several conclusions proposed in this research can potentially contribute to the field of Achaemenid studies. Contrary to those who see the Persian empire as a bureaucratic polity that had an extensive hands-on presence in the Levant through a system of foreign emissaries (e.g., Eisenstadt and his followers), we have proposed a picture of the Phoenician city-states as a subject territory which was nevertheless generally left to its own devices and was formally led by the city-state of Sidon. Phoenician city-states were, in this sense, autonomous, since they were able to maintain unhindered their own economic and political affairs with each other and throughout the eastern Mediterranean region. Only when their affiliation with Athens and the eventual rebellion of Sidon became a legitimate threat to Persian interests in the area, did the Great King launch an attack against the city of Sidon in the middle of the fourth century BCE. This *laissez-faire* model of governance of a subject territory that we see in the example of Phoenician city-states, although possibly location-specific, can be at least informative when taken into consideration in the analysis of other Persian subject territories.

Contribution to Hellenistic Studies

As we have established, material culture from Phoenician city-states indicates that their populations easily adopted foreign cultural influences, including those emanating from the Aegean. This cultural penetration carried with it Hellenistic ideas, practices, customs, and social institutions, which, ultimately, facilitated the spread of Hellenism after the invasion of Phoenician city-states by Alexander the Great. The incorporation of the population of Phoenician city-states into the new Hellenistic world was

most certainly accelerated by their proclivity toward cosmopolitanism, economic acumen, and fluency in the Greek language. On the other hand, this integration also created social tensions. When the population of Phoenician city-states realized that their prosperity had ended and their former Persian overlords who were largely benevolent to them had been driven out by the encroaching armies of Alexander, their cultural autonomy was lost as they were more often than not lumped together into an amorphous identity referred to in the Hellenistic period as Phoenicia.

Contribution to Biblical and Ancient Jewish Studies

In this study we have established that, when interpreted against the historical situation in the Levant of the first millennium BCE, ancient Jewish texts frequently either reflect the historical situation of the time in which they were written or project their current situations on the long-gone past. Based on this assumption, we have proposed that ancient Jewish materials speak of the city-states of Tyre and Sidon in three divergent ways that reflect three distinct socio-historical situations. The first grouping, represented primarily by the books of Amos and Ezekiel, reflects the pre-Persian or early Persian historical situation. These books speak of Tyre as the dominant economic polity in the Levant, whereas an economically weaker Sidon receives little coverage, if any. This coverage corresponds well with the historical picture of the dominant Tyre throughout the greater part of the first half of the first millennium BCE. The siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar with the subsequent deportation of its elite significantly weakened Tyre, laying the foundations for the rise of Sidon in the Achaemenid Levant. We also proposed that she second large grouping, represented primarily by the DtrH, addresses the Persian-period historical situation. Tyre is a close ally of Jerusalem, whether real or imaginary, in these materials, whereas Sidon is portrayed as the more economically powerful polity of the two. Contrary to traditional scholarship, which often sees the DtrH as reflecting the Phoenician history of the tenth century BCE, we attribute to the DtrH materials the Persian-period compositional date since they echo well the historical situation of the mid-sixth–fourth centuries BCE. The third category of ancient Jewish texts that we identified (e.g., Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Joel, Zechariah, Isaiah 23, Jeremiah, etc.) does not differentiate between the cities of Tyre and Sidon. Reflecting the post-Achaemenid period, when the city-states of Tyre and Sidon were no longer able to maintain their independent economic and political positions, these texts refer to Tyre and Sidon as the collective "Tyrians and Sidonians."

Our conclusions challenge some recent proposals regarding the dating of ancient Jewish texts. For example, Schniedewind (2004) proposes that the Hebrew Bible emerged during the transition from an oral tradition to textuality and literacy at the end of Israel's monarchy in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. He places the beginning of the process during the reign of Hezekiah in the eighth century BCE, when the king ordered ancient oral traditions to be fixed in written form. Schniedewind suggests that as ancient Israelite society developed, writing and literacy also spread, eventually leading to the textualization of oral religious traditions. Deriving his main support from archaeological data, Schniedewind asserts that neither the Persian nor the Hellenistic periods witnessed the writing of the Hebrew Bible. He maintains that the former is too archaeologically unknown to allow conclusions regarding the emergence of national literature of the scope of the Hebrew Bible, while the latter is too late and is the time when the canon had already been largely formed. The main valid criticism levied against his work is Schniedewind's exaggerated emphasis on the shift from the oral to the written in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.[25] One point of criticism of his work that we can add based on this research is that Schniedewind's proposals do not sufficiently account for the diachronic change in attitudes and ideological overtones towards other polities in the Levant, primarily Tyre and Sidon, in ancient Jewish materials.

Our proposals are closer to the positions of Bolin (1996) and Carr (2004b), who have advanced strong arguments for the Hellenistic period as a formative time-period for biblical tradition. Sharing the criticism of older historical models of Noth and von Rad by Thompson, Lemche, Davies, and others, Bolin suggests that even in the second half of the fourth century BCE, the Hebrew Bible was still in a nascent form. Although he situates the collection of traditions in the Achaemenid period, he asserts that it was the Hellenistic period that saw the final editing and writing of the Hebrew Bible. Similarly, based on the analysis of educational curricula of several Near Eastern and Hellenistic cultures and by stressing memorization as one of the primary modes of transmission of cultural information, Carr proposes that the textualization of the Hebrew Bible was the product of the Hellenistic period and Hellenistic Judaism. Although he does not deny the early character of some of the writings from the Hebrew Bible, including some portions of the DtrH, Carr sees the overall construction of the Hebrew Bible as a product of the Jewish educational system, aided by the anti-Hellenistic agenda and centered on the Temple and priestly personnel.

By advancing an interpretation of the DtrH and other ancient Jewish materials against the historical situation of the latter half of the first

millennium BCE, we have accentuated issues of ideology that are evident in ancient Jewish sources. The Achaemenid period with its specific economic and political circumstances allows for a better understanding of the ideological overtones and diachronic changes evident in the ancient Jewish treatment of Tyre and Sidon.

Perspectives for Further Research

In no way this study aims at providing the final word on Achaemenid Phoenicia. Many questions still remain, unanswered either by the paucity of archaeological data or by the mental framework that still dominates the field of Phoenician studies. This study is an attempt at synthesis of the available information and an experiment at approaching some of the previously-proposed conclusions from a different historical and ideological angle. As such, it potentially poses some new avenues of research.

First, new socio-historical chronologies for Phoenician history need to be drawn. As we have demonstrated, the traditional bibliocentric chronological model accounts poorly for the socio-political processes under way throughout the first half of the first millennium BCE. Studies done in the future must take into consideration independent developments in the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon, which constitute primary players in the Levantine politics of the Iron Age. Second, the exact administrative setup of the Levant in the Achaemenid period needs to be further defined, since the constitution of some of the Achaemenid administrative divisions, such as provinces, districts, and satrapies, is unclear. Third, the nature of Yehud's relationship with the Phoenician city-states of Sidon and Tyre needs to be reevaluated in light of our findings. More precisely, our conclusions regarding the amicable affiliation of Tyre and Jerusalem throughout most of the first millennium BCE should be developed in further research.[26] Fourth, there is the task of identifying and differentiating among Tyrian, Sidonian, and other Phoenician impact in the coastal areas of the southern Levant, in the hinterland, and at north Syrian sites. This research task is extremely difficult, as focused studies on cultural differences between various Phoenician polities are practically absent, due, in fact, to the traditional Greek-inspired cognitive model of treating the Phoenician city-states as one geopolitical unit.

Although new excavations and finds in Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria can help clarify these issues, the evaluation of older finds with new emphases and foci will potentially be of as much value. Hopefully, some of the methodologies and proposals of this research would provide a helpful matrix for further research.

Appendix A

Figure A.1. Coinage from the cities of the Phoenician coast and Cyprus. From Krings (1995: Pls. 9–12). Reproduced with permission of E. J. Brill.



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9/1. Arados, Babelon 1910, n° 814, pl. CXVI, 10.
9/2. Arados, Hill 1910, p. 3, n° 8, pl. I, 6.
9/3. Arados, Hill 1910, p. 4, n° 17, pl. I, 11.
9/4. Arados, Babelon 1910, n° 836, pl. CXVI, 24.
9/5. Arados, Hill 1910, p. 10, n° 60, pl. II, 13.
9/6. Arados, Babelon 1910, n° 852, pl. CXVII, 6.
9/7. Arados, Hill 1910, p. 12, n° 84, pl. II, 30.
9/8. Byblos, Kraay 1976, p. 288, pl. 61, n° 1051.
9/9. Byblos, Kraay 1976, p. 289, pl. 61, n° 1052.
9/10. Byblos, Hill 1910, p. 95, n° 5, pl. XI, 13.
9/11. Sidon, Hill 1910, p. xc Ib, pl. XLII, 12.
9/12. Sidon, Babelon 1910, n° 884, pl. CXVIII, 1.
9/13. Sidon, Hill 1910, p. 140, n° 4, pl. XVIII, 1.
9/14. Sidon, Hill 1910, p. 145, n° 29, pl. XIX, 5: roi Abdashtart Ier.



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10/15. Sidon, Babelon 1910, n° 944, pl. CXX, 14: satrape Mazday.
10/16. Sidon, Hill 1910, p. 147, n° 45, pl. XIX, 14.
10/17. Sidon, Hill 1910, p. 148, n° 48, pl. XIX, 15.
10/18. Sidon, Babelon 1910, n° 926, pl. CXX, 3.
10/19. Sidon (?), Hill 1910, p. cxliv, 1, pl. XLV, 2.
10/20. Tripolis, Naster 1959, n° 293, pl. CXVII, n° 1759.
10/21. Tyr, Kraay & Moorey 1968, p. 191, n° 88, pl. XXI, n° 88.
10/22. Tyr, Babelon 1910, n° 980, p. 288, pl. CXXII, 1.
10/23. Tyr, Hill 1910, p. 229, n° 13, pl. XXVII, 17.
10/24. Tyr, Babelon 1910, n° 1009, pl. CXXII, 19.
10/25. Tyr, Babelon 1910, n° 1016, pl. CXXII, 22.
10/26. Sidon, Price 1991, p. 439, n° 3467, pl. XCIX, 1.
10/27. Tyr, Svoronos 1904–1908, II, n° 658, pl. XIX, n° 25: Ptolémée II, année 30 = 256 av. J.-C.
10/28. Tyr, newell & Mørkholm 1977, p. 206, n° 1268, pl. XLVI, n° 4: Antiochos III, 197–187 av. J.-C.



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10/29. Arados, Hill 1910, p. 19, n° 143, pl. III, 17.
10/30. Byblos, Hill 1910, p. 98, n° 16, pl. XII, 8.
10/31. Beyrouth, Rouvier 1900, p. 269, n° 457, pl. IB, 9.
10/32. Marathos, Hill 1910, p. 119, n° 1, pl. XV, 1.
10/33. Ptolémïs-Akko, Hill 1910, p. 128, n° 7, pl. XVI, 4.
10/34. Sidon, Rouvier 1902, n° 121, n° 1206, pl. VII, 4: Antiochos IV.
10/35. Tyr, Hill 1910, p. 254, n° 248, pl. XXXI, 4.
10/36. Byblos, *SNG Cop, Phoenicia*, n° 139: Commodus (176–192 ap. J.-C.).
10/37. Tyr, *SNG Cop, Phoenicia*, n° 379: Valerianus (251–253 ap. J.-C.).
10/38. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1196, pl. CXXX, 4.
10/39. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1204, pl. CXXX, 20.
10/40. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1207, pl. CXXX, 25.
10/41. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1218, pl. CXXXI, 10.
10/42. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1225, pl. CXXXI, 16.



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10/43. Kition, Hill 1904, p. 22, n° 79, pl. IV, 21.
10/44. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1230, pl. CXXXI, 22.
10/45. Kition, Babelon 1910, n° 1180bis, pl. CXXVIII, 18.
10/46. Kition (?), Price & Waggooner 1975, p. 126 D.
10/47. Lapéthos (?), Dikaios 1935, p. 174, n° 530, pl. XV, 8.
10/48. Lapéthos, Dikaios 1935, p. 174, n° 526, pl. XV, 5.
10/49. Lapéthos, *SNG Delepierre*, n° 2900.
10/50. Lapéthos, Kraay 1976, p. 303, pl. 63, n° 1091.
10/51. Lapéthos, *SNG Delepierre*, n° 2908.
10/52. Lapéthos, Babelon 1910, n° 1361, pl. CXXXVI, 12.
10/53. Lapéthos, Robinson 1948a, p. 45, n° 2, pl. V, 2.
10/54. Lapéthos, Hill 1904, p. xxxix, f, pl. XIX, 13.
10/55. Marion, Hill 1910, p. 71, n° 2, pl. XIII, 12.
10/56. Palestine, Hill 1914, p. 179, n° 21, pl. XIX, 21.

Appendix B

Material Culture Remains of the Iron Age II and Persian-Period Phoenician City-States

What follows is a narrative description of material culture remains of the Iron Age II and Persian-period Phoenician city-states. The appendix follows sites that evince various degrees of connection with Phoenician material culture from north to south, from Al Mina in northern Syria to the sites in Philistia. In order to address the issue of economic and cultural affinity of Phoenicia with Cyprus, a short description of Phoenician material culture remains in Cyprus dated to the Achaemenid period will be provided as well.

I. North Syrian Coastal Cities

1. Throughout the first millennium, the north Syrian sites were connected by an intricate network of roads, most of which are assumed to have continued in use as late as the Roman period, and were probably controlled by the larger sites of Tell Darūk, Tell Suqas, and Ǧabla.[1] Because of this close association between the north Syrian sites and their material culture remains variably characterized as Phoenician, Greek, or Syrian, scholars find it difficult to attribute a distinct cultural alignment to these sites. However, what scholars have established with a considerable degree of certainty is that in the Persian period, the region underwent a peaceful transition from the Iron Age II period, that it saw economic expansion, especially in the area of Al Mina, propelled most likely by sea trade on a large scale.[2] On the basis of the fact that several sites in the region saw an influx of such Phoenician artifacts as coinage, we may add that the area had either presence of traders from Phoenician city-states or had lively economic exchange with them.

2. Al Mina, a port on the Orontes River, is another example of a north Syrian site where traditionally labeled Phoenician artifacts have been found.[3]

Indeed, Al Mina's repertoire of pottery from Level VIII (ninth to eighth centuries BCE) closely resembles the material found in south Lebanese cemeteries and described by Chapman (1972: 172–73): the storage jars, the bichrome burnished and neck decorated ware, the red slip strainer spouted jug, the BoR juglets, and the deep bowls. Additionally, Chapman notes that several red slip dishes from Qrayé (a site outside of Sidon) are similar to the materials from Al Mina's Levels VII–VI (eighth to seventh centuries BCE). The site is abundant in artifacts from other cultures as well, especially Greek pottery, spanning almost the entire first millennium BCE. The architecture of Iron Age Al Mina, however, is closest to the architecture of other north Syrian sites, both in the layout of houses in the city and in their construction.[4]

To account for this mixture of ceramic and architectural styles, scholars have variously identified Al Mina as a Greek colony (*apoikia*), as a small Greek colony (*enoikismos*) within a Levantine town, or as a Greek trading post (*emporion*).[5] The second identification is the most convincing one given the character of finds in Al Mina, which demonstrate a mixture of Phoenician, Greek, and Syrian artifacts. A traditional Levantine polity, Al Mina most probably housed some Greeks who were responsible for the production of Greek-style ceramics.

Several characteristics of the Achaemenid period should be noted in connection with Al Mina. First, archaeological evidence, especially large amounts of imports dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BCE and its excavated part (*ca.* 0.7 ha/1.7 ac),[6] indicates that Al Mina grew to become an important trade center in north Syria in the Persian period. Second, the three excavated levels in the occupation of the site, IV (*ca.* 520 to 430 BCE), III (*ca.* 430 to 375 BCE), and II (*ca.* 375 to the end of the fourth century BCE) are all characterized by a considerable continuity of settlement. Third, Phoenician artifacts appear with more frequency in the Persian-period layers at Al Mina. Indicative of this process is the high percentage of Arwadian coinage found in Level III at Al Mina.[7] Additionally, scholars have noted the similarity between the material culture remains of Arwad and Al Mina, manifested in the presence of Phoenician ceramic artifacts.[8] Taken together, all these factors indicate either lively trade with Phoenician cities or, as Elayi (1987a) has suggested, some sort of political influence of Arwad over Al Mina. At this point, not enough evidence exists to support fully the latter suggestion.

3. Archaeological remains from a group of Syrian sites to the south of Al Mina (see Figure B.1) suggest that the Persian period was a time of economic and social change there.[9]



Figure B.1. The Phoenician sites in Syria of the Persian Period. From Elayi and Sapin (2000: 329).

Its beginning was marked by prosperity for most of the sites, the majority of which were heavily invested in sea trade owing to their coastal location. Imports of pottery grew steadily in the last third of the sixth century BCE, especially at Rās al-Baṣīt, reaching their peak around the first quarter of the fifth century BCE. However, around the turn of the fifth century, the settlements of Tell Suqas and 'Arab el-Mulk underwent destruction, one of the causes of which might be a dramatic event such as the Greek defeat by Persia at Salamis in Cyprus in 498 BCE, as Riis (1970) suggested, since the decline affected the entire north Syrian region. However, from the last third of the fifth century BCE until the end of the Achaemenid period and even after the conquest of Persia by Alexander, the region enjoyed another wave of economic renewal, one example of which is the resettlement of Tell Suqas *ca.* 380 BCE. Scholars suggest that the economic revival of the area was a result of the initiative of the city of Arwad as indicated by the considerable number of Arwadian coins found in the region.[10]

4. The site of Tell Suqas best demonstrates the complicated nature of identifying cultural domain of north Syrian sites, since throughout its

history Tell Suqas exhibited elements of cultural and religious syncretism. For the period H[1] (850–675 BCE), Tell Suqas evinces the simultaneous presence of Phoenician and Greek artifacts. Noting the wider distribution of Phoenician artifacts, Riis notes that the Phoenicians comprised the largest segment of the population while the Greek elements, oscillating in strength, peacefully made inroads among the Phoenicians.[11] The syncretism of Tell Suqas is best illustrated by the temple discovered there. Originally founded as a Greek temple in the eighth century BCE, it preserved strongly pronounced Greek features such as a tiled roof. After a period of abandonment in the fifth century BCE, the site of Tell Suqas was resettled in the first quarter of the fourth century BCE, and the temple, which survived, emerged as a Phoenician religious site dedicated to the worship of Astarte, the city-goddess of Sidon, and Melqart, the god of the Tyrians, and served in this capacity until the second century BCE. The syncretistic worship of Astarte and Melqart, as well as the presence of Arwadian coins and the geographic proximity of Tell Suqas to Arwad strongly suggest that the site belonged to the Phoenician, possibly Arwadian, cultural milieu in the Persian period. Additionally, the resettlement of Tell Suqas in the first quarter of the fourth century BCE also corresponds well to the general atmosphere among other Phoenician city-states, all of which not only experienced economic expansion but also the escalating influence and competition of the cities of Tyre and Sidon.

Phoenician identification and affiliation, however, is decidedly less clear for the rest of the sites in northern Syria. There are occasional "Cypro-Phoenician" pottery finds dated for the most part to the Iron Age that are similar to the finds from southern Lebanon cemeteries.[12] At the same time, the mere presence of Cypro-Phoenician pottery at these sites does not indicate Phoenician settlement. It is best, therefore, to speak of the coexistence of different cultures and ethnicities in Persian-period north Syria. Lund's (1990) observation seems very plausible when he noted that the four most pronounced ethnic and cultural groups occupying north Syrian coastal sites in the Persian period were: (1) descendants of the indigenous Late Bronze Age and Iron Age populations (possibly "Syrians" or "Canaanites") as indicated by architectural traits found elsewhere in Syria; (2) settlers from Phoenician city-states, most probably from Arwad as indicated by a considerable amount of Arwadian coins found there; (3) some Aramaic-speaking peoples, as indicated by several inscriptions; and (4) Greeks. At the current state of research, apart from the observation regarding the multiculturalism of the north Syrian sites, we cannot identify with any degree of certainty their dominant cultural affiliation in the Persian

period. Some limited Phoenician cultural penetration, however, is an important conclusion that enhances our understanding of socio-political processes that transpired in Persian-period Phoenician city-states and the larger Levant.

II. Arwad and Amrit

1. The sites of Arwad and Amrit usually receive combined coverage in scholarly literature because very little is known about either of them. It is not surprising since most of their territory is under modern occupation and has been excavated in a very limited fashion and they are in proximity to each other. The material culture remains from the area of Arwad and Amrit that are known demonstrate the continuous diversity of cultural artifacts throughout the eighth-first centuries BCE, with stylistic elements from Sidon seemingly gaining in popularity by the fourth century BCE, not only in products consumed by the elite but also by the general population.[13] Material culture remains also suggest that this process of adaptation of Sidonian styles in Arwad and Amrit was under way alongside the continued presence of Cypriot, Greek, Egyptian, and, later, Persian cultural elements throughout the first millennium BCE.

2. The site of Arwad, located 2.5 km/1.5 mi off the Syrian coast opposite mainland Antaradus (modern Tartus), has been occupied continuously from the third millennium BCE until now, but the earliest surviving architectural remains (monumental city ramparts) date only to the Roman period.[14] However, even the poorly preserved features of the material culture of Arwad indicate its close alignment with the north Syrian cultural milieu and ties with Greece, Cyprus, and Egypt throughout most of the first millennium BCE.[15] Elayi has also noted that Arwadian coins and such prestige items as funerary sculpture and anthropoid sarcophagi in stone bear close connections with Greek, Cypriot, and Egyptian art, whereas less expensive items are mostly of the type common in southern Phoenician areas.

The presence of many anthropoid sarcophagi in Arwad poses a problem of identification regarding whether they were produced there or were imported from Sidon, a well-documented center of sarcophagi production with about 50 specimens available.[16] As scholars note, just as with Sidonian specimens, anthropoid sarcophagi found around Arwad are fashioned in the much-valued Egyptian style, probably in order to appease the eclectic tastes of the elite class who, unlike the commoners, were the only ones able to purchase these expensive burial accessories. The same stratification of

tastes of the elites and commoners in Arwad is traceable through typologies of terracotta and monumental funerary sculptures.[17] Larger, more expensive sculptures most often include motifs that are Cypriot, Persian, and Greek, whereas smaller terracotta products from the area of Arwad exhibit primarily Phoenician-type features. Similarly, monumental funerary structures exhibit strong Egyptian traits, whereas burials of the lower class are almost always performed in the style common among other Phoenician and Punic sites.[18] It appears that for the elite of Arwad, products coming from mainland Phoenicia were regarded as mass-produced, less prestigious items.

3. In the area of Amrit, the most important find is the temple complex of Maʿabed dedicated to the god Melqart-Heracles, a deity with the characteristics of a healing god, similar to Eshmun of Sidon.[19] Scholars are often at a loss to identify the cultural milieu of the temple.[20] Persian connections are very likely, as crenellated architectural embellishments indicate. Anderson (2002) has noted the same kind of crenellated embellishments on Nabatean tombs of Petra (southern Jordan) and Hegra (northwestern Saudi Arabia), which he regards as manifestations of the official Achaemenid program of imperial architecture carried out in the provinces as well as in Persepolis.

The temple stayed in operation throughout the Achaemenid period until the fourth century BCE, with the faithful frequenting it as late as the Hellenistic period, as indicated by the ceramics found at the site. The presence of elements attributed to various cultural and artistic traditions at the temple should be regarded, in our view, as an example of eclecticism in the architectural tastes of the population of Amrit and an extension of the general atmosphere of cosmopolitanism permeating the societies of Achaemenid Phoenicia.

III. Sites in the Akkar Plain

1. Material culture of the Persian-period sites located in the Akkar Plain (Tell Kazel, Sheikh Zenad, and Tell Arqa) is similar to the sites in northern Syria in that it evinces strong agricultural emphasis. Although they were probably more closely aligned with north Syrian or inland culture, they maintained active economic ties with mainland Phoenician sites by importing and using Phoenician mass-produced products.

2. Tell Kazel located on the right bank of the Nahr el-Abrash 3.5 km/2.1 mi from the Syrian coast is one of the more significant sites in the northern Akkar plain.[21] Markoe notes that the site has a long history, as it is identified

with ancient Simyra, the LBA capital of Amurru, which is mentioned in the Amarna correspondence and later Assyrian texts. The Persian period layers are represented at Tell Kazel by agricultural structures of the *beehive* type, found in other areas of the Levant,[22] and silos, which were apparently meant to store agricultural products before being exported out of the area. These two features point to the familial organization of agricultural production in Tell Kazel for the purpose of exporting agricultural produce.[23]

The cultural affinity of Tell Kazel is difficult to establish, although the amphorae discovered at the site are close typologically to the finds from Al Mina and Tell Suqas. Additionally, the typology of torpedo jars, ladles, pots, and mortars has allowed scholars to make strong connections with the general Syrian ceramic repertoire.[24] However, other examples demonstrate ceramic affinities with samples from Tyre and Kition on Cyprus, as is the case with cosmetic oil bottles, lamps, and other ceramics.[25] Another Phoenician connection at Tell Kazel is the presence of artifacts that point to veneration of the traditional Sidonian healing deities Shadrafa and Eshmun, as indicated by a stele and a stamp bearing their names.[26] Overall, pottery assemblages from Tell Kazel indicate that the site aligned its economic activity toward the coast in order to maintain uninterrupted ties with Phoenician city-states, as many everyday products were imported into Tell Kazel from there. In exchange, Tell Kazel probably exported agricultural products such as oil, grains, honey, and wine, as indicated by the pottery types associated with storing and transporting these products. The site did not undergo any drastic changes either in the transition to the Achaemenid period or with the arrival of the Hellenistic Age, as Gubel (1990b: 46) has noted, possibly indicating that it was largely uninvolved in Phoenician politics of the Achaemenid period.

3. Among other sites in the Akkar plain are Sheikh Zenad, an unexcavated but surveyed site with traces of Iron Age settlement, and Tell Arqa at the mouth of the Akkar plain to the south of the Nahr el-Kebir, occupied intensively in the Iron II period (late ninth–early seventh centuries BCE).[27] Markoe has noted that in the ninth–seventh centuries BCE, the periphery of Tell Arqa was occupied by a necropolis containing incineration burials.[28] Unfortunately, it is impossible to make any cultural affinity conclusions based solely on these material culture remains.

IV. Tripolis

The site located 97 km/60.3 mi north of Beirut at the western extremity of a peninsula enclosed by the Abu ʿAli and the el-Baḥṣas rivers is identified

with the harbor town of modern Al-Mina, which is not to be confused with ancient Al Mina.[29] Because the site lies beneath the modern town, excavations have been limited. The uncovered occupation layers from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian period provide little conclusive evidence that would allow us to speak either of the social history or of the cultural affiliation of the site during the first millennium BCE. Fortunately, we have a clue that may be hidden in the historical name of the city. The classical understanding of Tripolis as a conglomerate of three cities[30] may indicate that the three components of Tripolis were the quarters of settlers from Arwad, Tyre, and Sidon, three enclaves that did not easily mix with each other as they were separated by walls.[31] If this was the case, this separation further lends credence to the idea of the economic and, perhaps, political competition among various Phoenician city-states in the Achaemenid period.

V. Byblos

Although the city of Byblos is prominently represented in the Near Eastern epigraphic evidence, ancient Jewish texts, and numismatic finds, its archaeological record, especially for the Iron Age and the Persian period, is largely lacking, hidden beneath the modern town.[32] Some material culture remains from Byblos, however, allow us to speak of its social history during the Achaemenid period.

From as early as the Early Bronze Age, Byblos was an important coastal polity. One of the hallmarks of the Iron Age in Byblos was urban development that culminated with the building of the city's eastern defensive fortifications in the beginning of the ninth century BCE. Near a city gate in the eastern section of Byblos was constructed a well-built wall with a glacis, which saw the addition of a watchtower in the seventh century BCE.[33]

The remains dated to the Persian period are very scarce. One of the few finds is a large rectangular platform (or terrace) built in the northeast sector of the city walls, with towers at each corner, dated to the end of the sixth century BCE.[34] The structure is of special interest, as it invokes several parallels with Syrian and Persian architectural styles. For example, an isolated decorative feature of the structure, a lion *protome,* is in the Syrian style. On the other hand, a rectangular building on top of the terrace with a double row of pillars has been identified by Ciasca as of the *Apadana* type common in Iranian imperial architecture.[35] Presence of the Iranian decorative features has prompted scholars to suggest that Byblos served as

a regional administrative and defensive center in the Achaemenid period.[36] Although it is possible that a Persian representative had a seat in Byblos, as Dandamaev (1995, 2006), followed by Fried (2003a), has suggested on the basis of the text CT 55, No. 435, more likely what we have at Byblos is yet another example of the syncretism, borrowing, and imitation commonly present at other Phoenician sites. The mere presence of Iranian architectural elements is insufficient for making conclusions regarding either Persian domination of the area of Byblos in the Achaemenid period or the stationing of a Persian official there. The fact that a structure dated to the sixth century BCE carries Persian decorative elements does not indicate that direct Persian control, even if we allow its presence, persisted in Byblos throughout the Achaemenid period. The elite of Byblos were in tune with artistic and cultural trends of their time, which included imitation and proliferation of various foreign artistic elements. Unfortunately, at this stage of research, it is impossible to determine whether artifacts and structures exhibiting Iranian elements were produced by Phoenicians or Persians, or were imported from Persia.

VI. Beirut and its Environs

The excavations in Beirut, which started on an organized basis only in the early 1990s, indicate continuous occupation of the site since the Middle Bronze Age.[37] Additionally, archaeologists have been able to establish the presence of the traditionally defined Phoenician cultural markers at Beirut, such as murex shells, as well as the economic importance of the site in the Persian period.

Material culture remains indicate that throughout its history Beirut was extensively fortified, by a pilaster wall in the Late Bronze Age and by a large new stone fortification wall with a large glacis at a steeper angle, contoured to the curved perimeter of the settlement mound, in the Early Iron Age. This rampart was succeeded by a casemate wall of limestone blocks in the seventh–sixth centuries BCE and by a sizable circuit wall faced with rubble stones in the Persian period.[38] During the Persian period, the site grew exponentially beyond the confines of the original tell, possibly owing to its lively engagement in purple-dye production, as indicated by large deposits of murex shells around the site. The archaeological picture indicates that the city experienced urban renewal under the Seleucids in the third century BCE.[39]

The site of Beirut manifests patterns of continuous exchange with the wider Mediterranean and its proximity to the material culture traditionally

defined as Phoenician. In addition to the murex shell industry, among Phoenician material culture remains are Red Slip ware vessels, which are first attested in Beirut in the stratum dating to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, and Phoenician storage jars dated to the seventh century BCE. Such indicators are especially striking at Khaldé, a site situated just south of Beirut alongside the airport, which yielded a large Iron Age necropolis three quarters of whose materials are comparable with finds from the southern Lebanese cemeteries.[40]

VII. Sidon

Material culture remains from Sidon dated to the Iron Age and Persian periods are scarce, as ancient and modern developments, as well as natural movements of the land and the sea have made several important areas disappear.[41] For example, the ancient harbor north of the city and the tombs in the cemeteries of Mugharat Ablun, Ain al-Helwe, and Ayya'a, which in the past provided archaeologists with valuable information, are no longer in existence.[42] This scarcity, however, should not preclude us from analyzing the complexity of material culture artifacts in Sidon dated to the Achaemenid period. As a conglomerate of Achaemenid, Ionic, and "Graeco-Iranian" styles, they testify both to Sidon's wide range of cultural and trade exchange with the outside world and to the importance of the city to successive imperial powers in the region.

If one attempts to trace the continuity of Sidonian material culture from the Iron Age to the Persian period, the task is daunting, as Iron Age pottery remains from Sidon are very limited in scope.[43] However, as Chapman has noted, even in their paucity, the Sidonian pottery fragments indicate their affinity with samples recovered from the south Lebanese cemeteries. Among other material cultural artifacts that unmistakably testify to the Phoenician cultural heritage in Sidon is a 91 m/300 ft long mound of murex shells located south of Sidon along the shore of the bay, the date of which is unknown.[44]

Cultural syncretism, which we have noted in our overview of Sidonian coinage, is also traceable in Sidon's material culture remains. Noteworthy in this regard are Sidonian-made sarcophagi that are found dispersed widely across the eastern Mediterranean basin, including at Kition.[45] In the pre-Achaemenid period, the anthropoid sarcophagi produced in Sidon were fashioned after Egyptian models.[46] However, in the Achaemenid period, an indigenous Sidonian style emerged that was a syncretistic adaptation of not only Egyptian stylistic traits but also of Greek ones, where the male



Figure B.2. A fragment from the "Sarcophagus of the Satrap." From Briant, (2002: 606). Reproduced with permission of Eisenbrauns.

heads of sarcophagi are stylized in a Greek manner with thick hair and curly beards.[47]

The same syncretism can be traced through funerary architecture found in Sidon, more specifically the so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus" from the late fourth century BCE thought to be the tomb of Abdalonymus, king of Sidon installed by Alexander the Great.[48] The tomb shaped as a palace is a rich combination of Persian and Greek styles and genres of production. The so-called "Sarcophagus of the Satrap," found at the royal necropolis of Sidon (which yielded many other Sidonian treasures) and dated variably to the last third of the fifth or the first third of the fourth centuries BCE, is another example of Sidon appropriating foreign imagery (see Fig. 4.3).[49] The seated figure on the sarcophagus has been variously identified as the satrap (unknown), the Great King, or the king of Sidon.[50] The visual representation of the figure's clothing, especially the headgear, and a symbol of power (a hooded tunic and a staff) is, however, strikingly similar to the image of the Sidonian king following the Great King in the chariot on Sidonian coinage (see Chapter Three and Appendix A 14). If our identification is correct, then it corroborates the argument we advanced in our discussion of Sidonian numismatics, i.e., that Sidonian royalty appropriated Persian imperial iconography in order to demonstrate association with the powerful Great King and to establish the political prowess and might of Sidon in the region.

A combination of various styles, both borrowed and indigenous, is also traceable in architecture around Sidon. In the vicinity of Sidon, in the foothills of Bostan esh-Sheikh, there still stands the temple of Eshmun and Astarte.[51] The temple, possibly constructed in the sixth century BCE, underwent several additions and modifications to the original structure. During the Babylonian domination, for example, such elements as a terrace similar to Mesopotamian ziggurats, fragments of *torus* (convex) moldings for column bases, faceted columns, and a chamber with sculpted *bucrania* (decorative reliefs of the skulls or heads of oxen) dedicated to Hadad were added to the temple.[52] In the Achaemenid period, the temple grounds underwent changes to bring it more in harmony with Iranian architectural styles. One such addition was a massive podium (60 × 40 m/197 × 131 ft) on which a new marble temple stood, all traces of which have been lost. Ciasca notes that the podium exhibits strong artistic connections with Achaemenid religious architecture, although the construction itself was probably completed by Ionian artisans in a style defined by Dunand as "Graeco-Iranian." These changes to the temple at Bostan esh-Sheikh indicate the social atmosphere among the Sidonian elite, who were both open to new configurations of styles and genres of production and embraced syncretism as their cultural and political hallmark.

A Sidonian-Achaemenid connection is seemingly strengthened by a proposal that Sidon, a powerful city in the Achaemenid period in its own right, was a seat of a Persian official and was accompanied by a Persian *paradeisos.* Indeed, Diodorus briefly mentions the *paradeisos* in Book XVI.41.[53] The material culture seems to support this notion as well – palatial column fragments with a capital in Achaemenid style found in Sidon hint that the building that featured them was of the Persian *Apadana* style.[54] Unfortunately, it is next to impossible to establish this proposal firmly as the building is currently under the castle of St Louis.[55] Although it is quite possible that Sidon was a regional administrative center, the mere presence of Achaemenid architectural elements does not indicate that the structure was a Persian residence or a *paradeisos*, just as such Achaemenid elements as the *bucrania* at the temple of Eshmun at Bostan Esh-Sheikh do not mean that the temple was Persian. Given the general predisposition of the Sidonian elite toward artistic and cultural syncretism, the structure underneath the castle might be a royal residence constructed in Achaemenid style (emulation) or carrying Achaemenid elements (syncretism).

VIII. Sarepta

The ancient city of Sarepta, identified as a site on the coast near the modern village of Sarafand about 16 km/10 mi from Sidon, has been spared by modern urban development and has remained accessible for excavations in its entirety.[56] The excavations at Sarepta revealed an uninterrupted sequence of occupational phases from the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age to the end of the Iron Age. The same uneventful character also marks the transitions between the Iron Age, Neo-Babylonian, Persian and early Hellenistic periods in Sarepta.[57]

Cultural continuity at the site is best illustrated by the temple of Tanit-Astarte, which functioned uninterruptedly from the eighth through the fourth centuries BCE (Figure B.3).[58] The layout of the building and the cult installations are not much different from that of other temples in Palestine and Cyprus. The veneration of Astarte, a traditional Sidonian deity, likely indicates that, from a cultural point of view, the population of Sarepta gravitated toward the neighboring city of Sidon.

One of the most striking features of Sarepta is its intense involvement in trade with Cyprus and the Aegean.[59] The beginning of this trade occurred in the Late Bronze Age, while it gradually diminished from the tenth to the eighth century BCE. In fact, Cyprus seems to have been Sarepta's primary contact with the outside world throughout most of the earlier Iron Age,

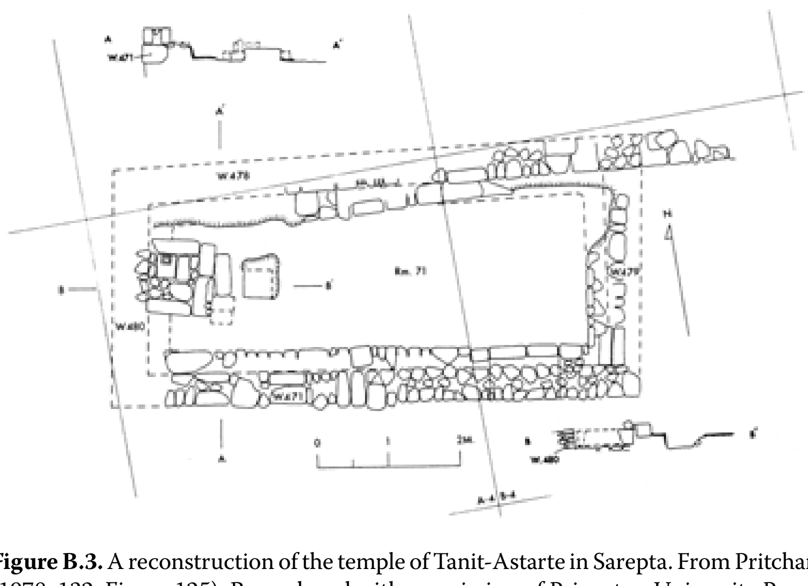


Figure B.3. A reconstruction of the temple of Tanit-Astarte in Sarepta. From Pritchard (1978: 132, Figure 125). Reproduced with permission of Princeton University Press.

until the later seventh century. As Koehl noted, the late seventh–early sixth centuries at Sarepta are characterized by the emergence of another foreign element at Sarepta, i.e., Greek imports from the island of Rhodes. These processes intensified during the Persian period, which at Sarepta was a time of relative prosperity and intensified trade, as imports dated to the sixth–fourth centuries BCE indicate.[60] Such active involvement of Sarepta, presumably an active trading center, in traditional Phoenician trade with the Mediterranean emphasizes the fact that it was securely enmeshed in the economic life of Achaemenid Phoenicia.

IX. Tyre and its Environs

1. Soundings performed within the perimeter of the original island of Tyre by Bikai have provided a well-stratified ceramic sequence that has served to establish Iron Age pottery chronologies not only for Tyre, but also for the rest of Phoenician sites.[61] Apart from scarce pottery finds, material culture remains from Achaemenid Tyre are practically non-existent, as the Roman occupation removed practically all preceding strata. Further excavations might possibly provide information regarding the Persian period at the site,[62] but at this stage of research any conclusions regarding the material culture of Achaemenid Tyre are inconclusive and at best can be based on the continuity from the Iron Age. Bikai (1978a, 1978b) already established continuity in occupation throughout the region from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age, with the types of ceramics that had always been associated with Phoenicia (mainly BoR) beginning to dominate in the mid-eighth century BCE (Stratum V).

2. More promising in archaeological matters is the site of Umm el-Amed ("mother of the columns"), which has long been known for its ancient ruins.[63] The site, located about 20 km/12 mi from Tyre and designated by Renan as a Tyrian territory,[64] was extensively excavated by Dunand in 1942–45.[65] At this impressive site, Dunand describes the remains of two sanctuaries that date as far back as the Persian period. The excavations around them yielded several minor inscriptions, steles, statues, and Hellenistic architectural elements. Of interest is the temple of "Milkashtart," with an almost square hypostyle room (19.6 × 18.8 m/64.3 × 61.7 ft) with four colonnades; these elements have frequently been identified with the Persian *Apadana* style (see Fig. B.4).[66]

If this identification is correct, then what we have in the vicinity of Tyre is a sacred building in the emulated Persian style. Again, the presence of such a building in Phoenicia does not mean Persian control of Tyre or

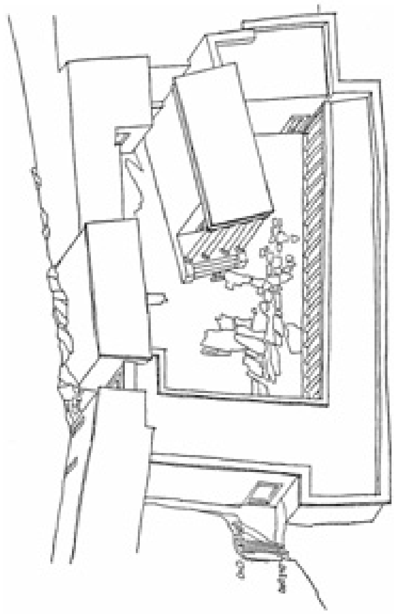


Figure B.4. A reconstruction of the East Temple at Umm el-Amed. From Dunand and Duru (1962: Figure 14) ("*Oumm el 'Amed: Une ville de l'epoque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr.*"). Reproduced with permission of Editions A. Maisonneuve.

Phoenicia in general, just as the presence of Greek elements in the statuary of the temple, noted by Dunand, does not indicate Greek presence and control there. The temple simply indicates that the builders emulated Persian architectural features.

X. Akko Coastal Plain and Western Galilee

1. Material culture remains from sites in the Akko coastal plain and western Galilee dated to the Iron Age and the Persian period demonstrate strong similarity to the remains found at traditional Phoenician sites.[67] On the basis of surveys, scholars have demonstrated that throughout the Persian period settlements in this region increased, probably as a result of Phoenician economic expansion.

Scholars have suggested that the Akko Plain of the Achaemenid period witnessed the same trends in settlement processes that had begun in the area already in Iron Age I and II. Most small villages moved into the hill country, where they could produce wine and olive products for export in larger quantities.[68] Additionally, as Lehmann suggests, the overall number

of settlements and the area of occupation increased, with both the hill country and the mountains being densely populated and Akko remaining the only urban center in the region. Throughout the Achaemenid period, the size of settlements was increasing, and the number of small villages of 1–2 ha/2.5–5 ac was growing at an accelerated pace.

It is unclear what peoples populated the region. On the basis of the *Onomasticon of Amenope,* an encyclopedic list from the Twentieth Dynasty of Egypt (*ca.* 1100 BCE), scholars have concluded that the region at the beginning of the Iron Age was populated by the Sherdani, the Sikils, and the Philistines.[69] Archaeologically, these three peoples are impossible to distinguish, since the monochrome Sea People pottery, which has been associated with the Sherdani, is also attributed to the Sikils, as Lehmann (2001) has noted. Moreover, the Akko Plain experienced an influx of the Canaanite/Phoenician peoples in the second half of the eleventh century BCE, as Stern (1990, 1991) proposed on the basis of Phoenician bichrome pottery found at Dor.[70] In general, the complicated ethnic identification of the inhabitants of western Galilee and the Akko Plain in Iron Age I is best explained by a peaceful symbiosis of Canaanites, Sea Peoples, Israelites, and Phoenicians as some scholars have already proposed.[71]

Archaeological evidence for Iron Age II indicates that the region experienced an influx of Assyrianizing pottery, a trend consistent with the historical situation influenced by the expansion under Tiglath-Pileser III.[72] His administration established several provinces in Syria and Palestine, one being the Assyrian province of Megiddo, which included the entirety of northern Palestine and which survived throughout the Neo-Babylonian period as well.[73] Functionally, the Akko Plain served as a strategic outpost for Assyrian forces that prevented peripheral polities from forming alliances with each other. The city of Akko itself was possibly the seat of an Assyrian governor, as Na'aman (1994) has suggested.

As Assyrian and Babylonian political influence waned in the region, new powers moved in to control it. Stern suggests that one such controlling polity was the city of Tyre.[74] The Tyrian domination of the region in the Achaemenid period is also supported by the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax, which lists Achshaph, a city adjacent to Akko, as belonging to the Tyrians. Additionally, the coin hoards from the area contain mostly Tyrian specimen, as the Tell Abu Hawam hoard, of which all 109 coins are Tyrian, suggest.[75] Finally, as Herbert and Berlin have proposed recently, the city of Tyre might have been granted by the Achaemenids the Upper Galilee and the area east of Tyre, continuing the tradition of "checking rather than augmenting the power of Tyre," which it had exerted over the region since Assyrian times.[76]

The bulk of the evidence, then, points to the fact that in the first half of the first millennium the region of the Akko Plain and the western Galilee was controlled by Tyre, and that by the Achaemenid period this influence had been solidified.

2. Phoenician material culture is well represented in the region of Akhziv. Among the Phoenician artifacts are *baetyls* (upright tomb stones) appearing otherwise only in Punic North Africa, tomb stelae, tophets, ivory products, and proto-BoR and BoR pottery.[77]

The finds from Akhziv dated specifically to the Persian period are sporadic, providing little concrete information about the site. We can, however, argue for the continuity of occupation in the Persian period, as well as throughout most of the first millennium BCE. For example, the two cemeteries Ez-Zib and Er-Ras, excavated by Ben-Dor in the 1940s and only recently described by Dayagi-Mendels, demonstrate continuity with the previous period, as some of the tombs from the sixth–fifth centuries remained in use or were reused during the Achaemenid period.[78]

3. A characteristic feature of the site of Akko is a series of waves of prosperity, the first of which took place in the ninth–eighth centuries BCE, when the fortifications of the city were enhanced and many new residential buildings appeared in the northern and eastern parts of the site. Another wave of expansion and renewal impacted Akko in the Achaemenid period, when the city prospered as an apparent administrative center of unclear function, which is partially suggested by a number of well-built residential and administrative (?) buildings. In addition to the testimony of the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax, the Phoenician identification of Akko, at least for the Persian and Hellenistic period, is supported by the traditional Phoenician pier and rubble technique used during the Persian and Hellenistic periods,[79] the Phoenician style of alternating headers and stretchers and fieldstones, and a variety of Phoenician objects.[80]

4. Another site of the Akko coastal plain, located 8 km/5 mi east of the Mediterranean Sea, is Tell Keisan, which possibly belonged to the Phoenician, more specifically Tyrian,[81] cultural sphere.[82] Archaeologists have established that already by the second half of the eleventh century BCE (represented by Stratum 9) the site contained an urban complex consisting of a number of multi-roomed buildings. The site underwent a series of cycles of destruction and rebuilding from the eleventh to the eighth centuries BCE, until finally in the seventh century it was reoccupied and reenergized under Assyrian cultural influence. Material culture remains at Tell Keisan indicate that the site was yet once again destroyed at the end of the seventh century BCE, possibly by Assyria, was reoccupied, and then

continuously inhabited throughout the Persian and Hellenistic periods until it was finally abandoned in the second century BCE.[83] Schreiber notes a striking continuity of rebuilding efforts on the part of the inhabitants of Tell Keisan: the later structures were built on top of the older buildings utilizing the older foundations.[84] This fact can possibly indicate that people who shared the same cultural identity as their predecessors repopulated the site each time.

XI. Phoenician Sites Elsewhere in Palestine

1. Many coastal sites in Palestine exhibit in their material culture possible connections with Phoenician sites throughout most of the first millennium BCE, including the Achaemenid period, although Phoenicians were definitely not the only ones residing in the area, as evidence for Greek merchants can be found at Akko, Dor, and Jaffa.[85] At the same time, questions remain as to how far back in time Phoenician presence at the sites in Palestine goes, whether it was consistent throughout the ages, and whether Phoenicians actually occupied the coastal strip from Mount Carmel to Gaza.

2. Material culture remains from Tell Abu Hawam (ancient Aksaph), which lies north of Mount Carmel at the original mouth of the river Kishon, include samples of Phoenician bichrome pottery, some dated to as early as 1100 BCE, the time when the site was reoccupied after its destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age.[86] The site was destroyed and resettled again in the early tenth century BCE, only to be leveled once again in the second half of the eighth century and abandoned until the Achaemenid period, when it emerged as a strategic fortress and a maritime center. By the fourth century BCE, Tell Abu Hawam was immersed on a large scale in a wave of urban development, probably as a result of the wider involvement of the population of the site in Phoenician maritime trade.[87]

Data that would place Tell Abu Hawam into any specific cultural sphere in the Achaemenid period is inconclusive. The Phoenician affiliation, at least until the second half of the eighth century BCE, is not improbable, as pottery remains from Levels IV and III, both dated to the Iron Age, bear a strong resemblance to the pottery from the south Lebanese cemeteries.[88] It is not clear, however, whether this affiliation continued throughout the Achaemenid period.

3. A stronger connection with Phoenician material culture can be traced at Atlit, located 15 km/9.5 mi south of Haifa, a site which in the Iron Age boasted an acropolis and a sizable lower town with harbor facilities, all

fortified.[89] Markoe and others propose that the Phoenicians, whose arrival at the site is usually dated to the seventh century BCE, founded their town along the shore at the base of the acropolis, although they might have had precursors who settled in the ninth century BCE further east along the coast by the river Oren's outlet. The necropolis of Atlit, which existed from the seventh century BCE until the Hellenistic era, is one of the best-known finds facilitating association of the area with Phoenician culture. The tombs of the dug-out shaft type dated to the sixth–fourth centuries BCE, which are known from other Phoenician sites such as Akhziv, are among some of the more prominent Phoenician markers.[90] Among other Achaemenid-period Phoenician material culture remains are biconical amphorae, originating in the area of Tyre and Sidon and dating to the end of the fifth century BCE, and the wooden stakes of an anchor, such as were common at the ports of Tyre and Kition in Cyprus.[91]

Ciasca suggests that cremated burials at Atlit are yet another indication of Phoenician presence at the site in the Achaemenid period. This proposal, however, is not without problems. As Gras, Rouillard, and Teixidor have noted, Phoenicians in the ninth–sixth centuries BCE, in the Levant and in the Mediterranean, practiced *both* inhumation and incineration (cremation) in the same community, and one and the same tomb could receive incinerated and inhumated remains, as demonstrated by burials near Tyre (Tell er-Rashidiyeh), in southern Spain (Trayamar), and in Akhziv.[92] Therefore, the mere presence of cremated burials near Atlit is insufficient by itself to identify the site as unequivocally Phoenician. Fortunately, the abundance of other Phoenician artifacts found at Atlit makes the identification easier.

4. Some of the most significant and challenging finds connected with Phoenicians come from the excavations in northern Israel, primarily in Dor, conducted by Stern and his students since the late 1980s.[93] In the process of his excavations, Stern discovered caches of Phoenician bichrome ware and Cypriot potsherds which he dated to the eleventh century BCE, the *terminus ad quem* being around 1000 BCE.[94] Based on those findings and the research conducted by Mazar,[95] who discovered Phoenician and Cypriot vessels from the same period alongside late Philistine ware at Tell Qasile, a site inhabited by a mixed Philistine-Phoenician population, Stern then proceeded to reconstruct the chronology of Dor's occupation. Since Phoenician pottery appeared simultaneously in Dor, at Tell Hawam, Tell Keisan, Tyre, Sarepta, Khaldé, and in Cyprus, Stern argues, the process of "Phoenician settlement" commenced in the second half of the eleventh century BCE.[96] He describes the process as a southward movement of people

from traditionally Phoenician areas (the south Lebanese coast) to the northern coast of Palestine and into Cyprus. Stern's further reconstruction of the chronology of Dor, especially the ending date of Phoenician occupation, is not very convincing since it is based primarily on the homogeneity of finds among other biblical sites and ancient Jewish accounts of king David, who routed the Philistines in the south and "acquired firm control over the northern coast of Palestine from the Phoenicians … ."[97] Although heated debates would still rage regarding the ethnic and cultural affiliation of the peoples inhabiting the region of Dor in the first part of the first millennium BCE, the prevalent traditional designation of it as Philistine is still to be preferred in the meantime.[98]

Whatever the affiliation of the coastal areas in Iron Age I, Iron Age II, and the Neo-Babylonian periods, several finds from Dor allow us to speak of renewed Phoenician influence in the area in the Achaemenid period. One of the connections with Phoenician material culture is the plan of the residential district, which has close parallels with Berytus in Phoenicia and a Phoenician settlement in Olynthus, Macedonia (see Figures B.5 and B.6).[99]

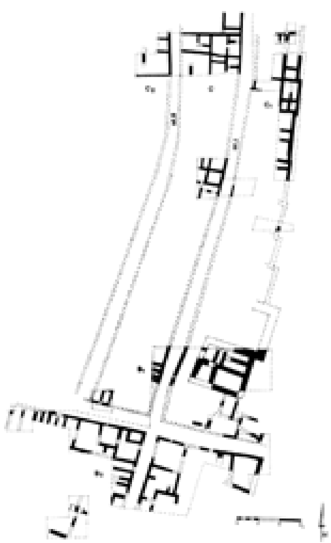


Figure B.5. Plan of the eastern residential quarter of Tel Dor in the Persian period. From Stern (2001: 394). Reproduced with permission of Yale University Press.



Figure B.6. Plan of a residential quarter in Olynthus, Macedonia. From Stern (2001: 396). Reproduced with permission of Yale University Press.

Stern notes that this plan, referred to as Hippodamian, originated in the late sixth century BCE and continued without change until the Roman period. Additionally, such items as scaraboids with motifs appearing on Sidonian and Tyrian coinage, many coins of Greek and Phoenician types, several pits for dye manufacturing, heaps of murex shells, and several ostraca inscribed in Phoenician demonstrate Phoenician cultural influence in the region, stemming either from the movement of Phoenician people in search of lucrative markets, from the influx of Phoenician goods, or both.[100]

5. Findings from the sites in Philistia (see Figure B.7) also demonstrate emerging Phoenician presence in the Achaemenid period.[101] At that time, the region, which included Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gath (Tell eṣ-Ṣafī?), had the city of Gaza as its crown. Nevertheless, the intensity of Phoenician material culture there (in spite of its "Philistia" moniker) was such that Stern suggested that in the Achaemenid period it was "predominantly inhabited by Phoenicians, who replaced the Philistines." Although it is impossible to tell whether one group of people replaced another just because the typology of material culture remains partially changed, the fact is that either through settlement or wide dissemination of their products, Phoenicians were able to make a distinct cultural mark on the Achaemenid-period Philistine cities.

The above-mentioned phenomenon is best represented by the city of Ashkelon. A number of Phoenician material culture artifacts dated to the Achaemenid period were discovered at the site, including inscriptions, religious insignia (the sign of Tanit), Phoenician amphorae, and Sidonian coins.[102] Another feature possibly connecting the site with Phoenician material culture is the ashlar building technique, which is observed at other Phoenician sites and is frequently associated with Phoenicians. The site includes at least four layers of ashlar buildings constructed before the city was destroyed *ca.* 300 BCE.

An outstanding feature of Ashkelon is the presence of a significant number of dog burials. Based on this fact and numerous indications in the Avesta, the sacred writings of Zoroastrianism, of a great deal of attention paid to dogs, Lipiñski establishes the presence of a Persian community there.[103] Without further support, however, this argument remains unconvincing. A simple mention of a connection between the site and some form of the Persian cultural or religious influence is sufficient at this stage.

6. Other sites from the Gaza region and northern Sinai present an unclear picture, as most of the important sites are unexcavated (e.g., Gaza), whereas the excavated sites (Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Far'ah, Tel Haror, Tel Sera', Ruqeish,

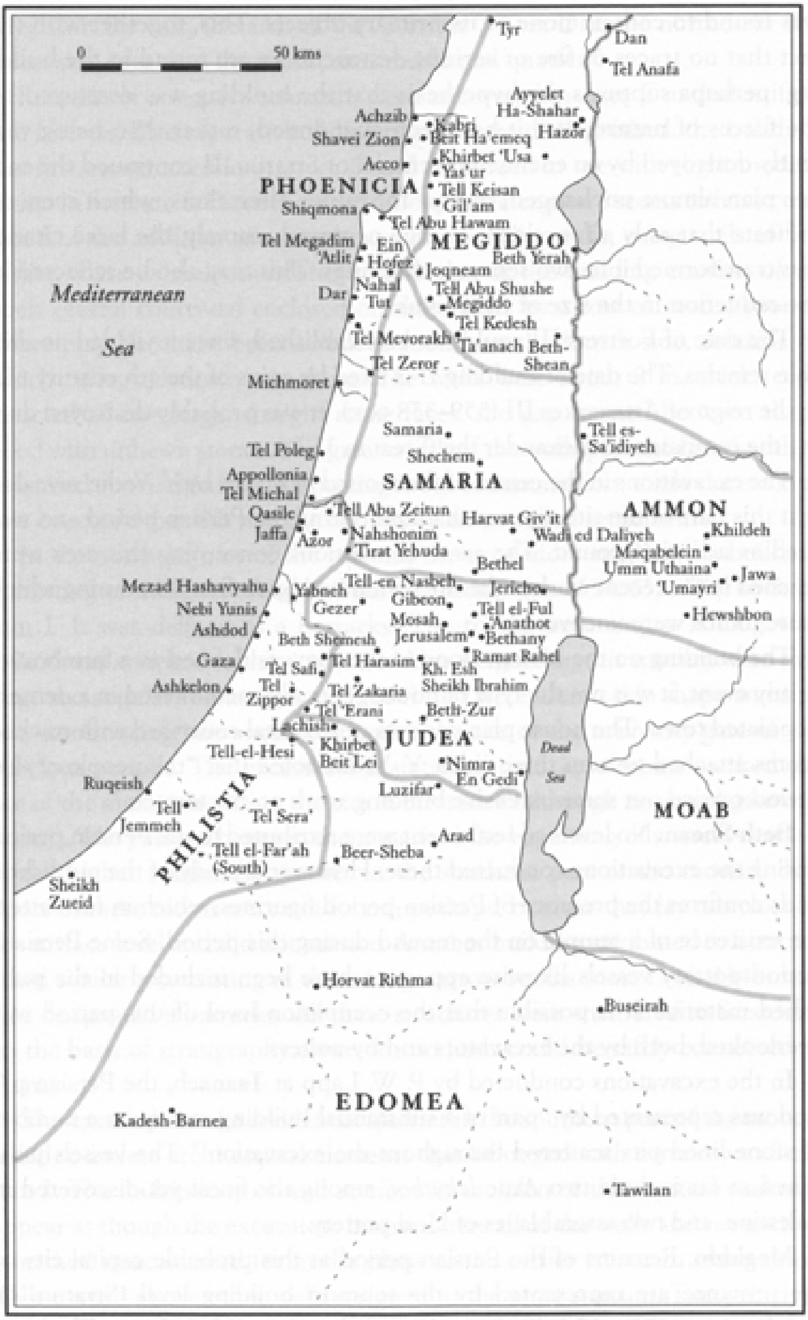


Figure B.7. Excavated Persian-period sites in Palestine. From Stern (2001: 375). Reproduced with permission of Yale University Press.

Tel Qatif, Tell Raphia, and Kasion) provide inconclusive evidence regarding the Persian period.[104]

XII. Phoenician Artifacts on Cyprus

A few words should be said about Phoenician material culture on Cyprus, which is well attested, although the details are often unavailable. Generally speaking, scholars have established that the Phoenicians settled on Cyprus by the middle of the eighth century BCE,[105] even though commercial contacts between Phoenician cities and ports of Cyprus may have begun as early as the seventeenth century BCE.[106] Material culture remains, primarily pottery, but also religious and epigraphic artifacts, allow us to speak of very close connections between Cyprus and the Phoenician mainland in the Iron Age and beyond.[107] From an artistic point of view, Phoenician stylistic motifs can be traced through metal bowls at Idalion and Amathus, ivory plaques and multicolored encrustations from the tombs of Salamis, and the sarcophagi of Amathus.[108] Such cultural exchange between Cyprus and the Phoenician mainland continued throughout the Achaemenid period, only to wane in the fourth-third centuries BCE.[109]

Cyprus of the Achaemenid period proper is represented poorly archaeologically. One should mention, however, the excavations of Kition Bamboula, a site with a strong Phoenician presence from at least the mid-ninth century BCE, at which archaeologists have uncovered three main building phases attributed to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.[110]

A telling example of the difficulty in studying Persian-period Cyprus is the architecture of Cyprus. The beginning of the Hellenistic age wiped out royal residences together with their kings. Even if large sanctuaries from the previous periods survived, they underwent such drastic transformations during the Hellenistic and Roman periods that they are practically impossible to reconstruct.[111] In spite of such difficulties, however, a general typology of Cypriot architecture for the Achaemenid period, primarily a religious one, can still be established based on its strong Near Eastern traditions and continuity from the Iron Age. As Raptou notes, the Greek architectural styles did not find in the Iron Age a favorable space in which to develop because of the domination of strong local and eastern traditions. In the sixth–fifth centuries BCE, however, Greek influence starts making inroads into Cypriot religious architecture, a process exemplified by the emergence of architectural elements betraying Greek inspiration through certain symmetry in the plans of sanctuaries. Among the most notable examples of this development are the findings in the area of Soloi, in

particular at the sanctuary to Athena at Vouni, and the sanctuary of Paradisotissa, where one can find structures possibly inspired by Greek architecture.[112] These developments in Cypriot architecture are parallel to the general break of the cultures on Cyprus from their Near Eastern antecedents and their alignment with the Greek cultural milieu in the Achaemenid period. This process of rapid Hellenization of Cyprus noted in our review of classical epigraphic and classical sources signifies the disassociation of Cyprus from the Phoenician mainland to the point that one hardly speak of the two regions as united by the same cultural ties throughout most of the Achaemenid period, especially its end.

Endnotes

Introduction

1. E.g., see Eustace (2003); Fass (2003); Kocka (2003); Shapiro (2003); Smith (2003); Stearns (2003).
2. E.g., Elayi and Sapin (1998); Bondì (2004); Bondì (2006); Elayi (2006); Lemaire (2006).
3. E.g., Joffe (2002: 432–40).

Chapter 1

1. E.g., see a recent work by Aubet (2001: 127–32) wherein she reconstructs Phoenician trade specifics almost exclusively from her reading of Homer's *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey.*
2. The term Paul Ricoeur (1970) coined in *Freud and Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation* to describe a method of interpretation which uncovers the hidden political interests of the text.
3. Salles (1996: 1173).
4. Oliver (2000: 1314).
5. E.g., see Emberling (1997); Tubb (1998: 13–24); Markoe (2000: 10–13); Kaufman (2004); Killebrew (2005).
6. Garthwaite (2004: 7) writes the following regarding the Greek attitudes towards the Persians: "The Greeks defined themselves against the Achaemenians, and viewed them with both awe and condescension. The Persians were clearly non-Greek, the Other, in every category, especially politics, society, and art and architecture."
7. Briant (2002: 981); for Babylonian sources, see Stolper (1985: 58) and Dandamaev (1992).
8. E.g., Movers (1841, 1856); Gsell (1913); Bunnens (1979).
9. E.g., see the discussion in Ribichini (1995).
10. Geographical accounts of various journeys and trips usually contain first-hand accounts and mention sites, toponyms, and concrete cultural information otherwise unattainable. These geographical accounts, represented, for example, by Hanno (translated from Punic into Greek), Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnos, Eratosthenes, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, etc., furnish valuable geographical, historical, and linguistic information concerning Phoenicia, Carthage, and Phoenico-Punic deities. As

useful as these sources may be, a certain caution should still be exercised, as Lipiński (1992a: 52) has pointed out. The information concerning Phoenicia is still deeply embedded in the contents of these travel reports written primarily by outsiders and, therefore, when extracted, may prove to be either inconsequential or misleading.

11. Ribichini (1995: 81) presents a list of possibilities: "saint Augustin, Arnobe, Athanase, Hérodien, Porphyry, Clement d'Alexandrie and Tertullien, ... Hésychios, Étienne de Byzance ... Achille Tatius, Aelius Aristide, Apollodore, Apulée, Aulu-Gelle, Aristote, Athéné, Aviénus, Caton, César, Claude, Columelle, Corippe, Cyprien, Diogène Laërce, Denys d'Halicarnasse, Denys Périégète, Dion Cassius, Dion Chrysostome, Éphore, Élien, Ennius, Euripide, Firmicus Maternus, Florus, Frontin, Jean le Lydien, saint Jérôme, Lollianos, Lucien, Macrobe, Maxime de Tyr, Minucius Felix, Naevius, Nonnos, Orose, Pausanias, Photios, Platon, Pomponius Mela, Ptolémée, Salluste, Scylax, Solin, Stace, Tacite, Varron, Vitruve, Zonaras."
12. Ribichini (1995: 81).
13. Ribichini (1995) notes Moscati and Desanges, among others.
14. Ribichini (1995: 81–82).
15. Translation by Lattimore (1951).
16. Mazza (1999: 633).
17. Translation by Lattimore (1967).
18. The term "cultural" is used here in the sense that certain cultural phenomena, e.g., the invention and spread of the alphabet, are universally connected with the Phoenicians.
19. Ribichini (1995:79).
20. Ribichini (1995: 77).
21. For this figure, see Mortley (1996: 4).
22. Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987).
23. See also Krings (1995: 30–31).
24. Briant (1982: 491), quoted in Elayi and Sapin (1998: 102).
25. For an overview of Greek historiographic tradition, see Marincola (2001: 1–8).
26. Gould (1996: 696).
27. E.g., see Fehling (1989); Marincola (2001: 31–39); Lateiner (2004: xxii–xxiv).
28. All quotations of Greek texts, unless otherwise noted, are based on the versions provided by the Perseus Digital Library found at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu.
29. For Herodotus' use of sources, see Munson (2001: 34–35).
30. Cf. the derogatory way classical authors depicted the Persians themselves. For example, Lincoln (2007: 14) writes: "Obviously enough, foreign authors do not report things from a Persian perspective, and one must guard against naturalizing and reproducing their Orientalist tropes as regards Persian luxury, decadence, despotism, and palace intrigue, to cite some of the most common examples."
31. Marincola (2001: 53ff.); Munson (2001: 8).
32. For a close examination of this passage, see de Sélincourt (1996: 470).
33. E.g., Cancik and Schneider (2000: 917).
34. It is also unclear whether Herodotus included in Palestine the lowland, coastal area only or the Cisjordanian highlands and the Transjordanian highlands as well. At this point, we will have to be satisfied with his designation of Palestine as part of Syria, whatever its exact geographical boundaries might be.

35. See Marincola's note on the passage in de Sélincourt (1996). Cf. Briant's proposal (2002: 392) that Herodotus had access to official documents from Sardis and elsewhere as he was writing down the tribute paid to Darius.
36. Persian lists always start with Persepolis, as demonstrated by a helpful line-up of satrapies in Persian inscriptions in Calmeyer (1990: 124–25, Figure 1). For a list of satrapies, see his Figure 2. The abbreviations stand for: DB = the Behistun Inscription; Dpe = one of the inscriptions "on the south façade of the Persepolis terrace"; Dse = an inscription from Susa; Dna = an inscription from the King's tomb at Naqš-I Rustam; Dsaa = a version of the Susa foundation charter; and Xph = an inscription of Xerxes (Briant 2002: 172–73).
37. See a discussion in Briant (2002: 172–75).
38. The discourse on the construction of various identities of the peoples of the Achaemenid empire advanced by other scholars (e.g., Root 1990) could be extended in the future onto the issue of representation of Phoenicia and Phoenicians in both Achaemenid texts and art. It is beyond the parameters of this study to analyze the wealth of Achaemenid administrative or regional business documents (e.g., Cameron 1948 and Hallock 1969) in relation to specific Phoenician city-states.
39. Calmeyer (1990: 117).
40. Briant (2002: 393).
41. For the word *dahyu* in Achaemenid inscriptions, see Lecoq (1990).
42. Calmeyer (1990); Elayi (1997); Rainey (2001).
43. Stern (2001: 577) suggested that such a division was precipitated by the Babylonian revolt of 482 BCE against Persia.
44. Briant (2002: 393).
45. Leuze (1935: 261); Rainey (2001: 57).
46. This reconstruction is based primarily on Muhly (1997) and Wiesehöfer (1990).
47. For example, see Seibert (1976); Maier (1985).
48. For example, see Sørensen (1997: 285–99). Sørensen's research shows that during the first part of the first millennium BCE both Greek and Cypriot pottery appear at more and more sites of the southern Levant, and that an almost equal number of Greek and Phoenician pots have been found on Cyprus. Sørensen concludes that "pottery found in a non-native context may be evidence of contact in the form of trade, colonization, or cohabitation of different ethnic groups, as well as evidence of taste and customs."
49. Callot (1997: 71).
50. Karageorghis (1979: 152).
51. Muhly (1997: 95).
52. Raptou (1999: 199).
53. For other examples from classical authors, both Greek and Latin, see Raptou (1999: 201–209). Similarly, Miller (2005: 68), speaking of the interaction of Greece with the Orient, noted: "Individuals, cities and regions had potentially much to gain by associating themselves with foreign mythological figures: they could enhance the antiquity of their own claims to civilisation."
54. For example, see Hachmann (1995).
55. For a detailed description of Xenophon's life and works, see Tuplin (1996).

56. See discussion in Briant (2002: 601, 981). For an identification of Belesys with Bēlšunu, governor of Babylon (?), see Stolper (1987, 1990, 1995) and Graf (1993: 153–54).
57. Andrewes (1981: 17); Hornblower and Spanforth (1996: 1447); Dillery (1998: 17).
58. Xenophon did not speak Persian or Aramaic so he had to rely on others for his information (*Anabasis* 4.5.34). The issue of Greek suspicion of the Orient, probably based on ignorance, might have come into play here, as well, as Tuplin has noted (1996: 1630).
59. Tuplin (1996: 1630).
60. Ambler (2001: 1–18).
61. Quoted in Mazza (1999: 643).
62. For a discussion of *fides Punica*, see Ribichini (1995: 77).
63. For the dating of the Periplus, see Desanges (1978: 90–93); Peretti (1979); Elayi (1987b: 78). For an overview of the Periplus, see Marcotte (1992: 418–19) and Lipiński (2004: 267–335).
64. Ctesias (*ca.* 390 BCE) was the first author who distinguished between Phoenicia proper and Coele-Syria, the latter being the territory of Syria roughly corresponding to the Beqaa Valley. For a discussion of the term, see Lipiński (2004: 333–34).
65. According to Lipiński (2004: 271, n. 13), the city mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax corresponds to the harbor town of Level II (*ca.* 375–301 BCE). For excavation reports and analyses thereof, see Woolley (1953: 173–88) and Boardman (1990; 1999a). See Coldstream (1998) who disagrees with Boardman's characterization of Al Mina as a Greek enclave.
66. For Ashkelon and excavations there, see Stager (1991, 1993: 108); Wapnish and Hesse (1993); Heltzer (1998); Halpern (2000), and our Appendix B XI.5.
67. See Galling (1964: 190–91) who regards this reading as an error by Pseudo-Scylax.
68. For a dated, but still widely cited, overview of critical issues in Diodorus studies, see Oldfather (1946). For the issues of reliability of Diodorus' history-writing, see Sacks (1990). Briant (2002: 951) also provides a helpful overview of the text.
69. On the Belesys of Diodorus possibly being related to Bēlšunu or Belesys of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, see Briant (2002: 724).
70. The date is from Tritle (1997: 199–200); cf. the 350 BCE date of the revolt and the 347 BCE date of the military action by Artaxerxes III in Elayi (2006b).
71. Eph'al (1988: 154–55); Briant (2002: 683, 951).
72. There is only one fragment of the Babylonian Chronicle (ABC no. 9), dated to the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes III, that mentions sending Sidonian prisoners to the palace in Babylon in October of 345 BCE. Briant concludes that Sidon had been taken shortly before that date, *ca.* 346 BCE. However, cf. Isocrates' *Philippus* 12. Barag (1966: 6–12) argued from an archaeological point of view (mid-fourth century destruction of many Palestinian sites) that the rebellion led by Tennes spread throughout other territories in Palestine. Cf. Williamson's response (2004: 23).
73. Briant (2002: 1004).
74. Krings (1995: 31).
75. Cf. Garbini (1990, 1991) and Xella (1991), who underscore the potential richness and importance of the Phoenician literature as an independent source of historical information.

76. For general information on Flavius Josephus, see Rajak and Smallwood (1996); Wandrey (1998); Rajak (2002).
77. For analyses of the ways Josephus reworks his sources for literary and ideological reasons, see Parente and Sievers (1994); Lemaire (1986a: 217–19); Mader (2000: 5–10).
78. Mazza (1999: 630).
79. Liddel and Scott (2002: 243) define the word as "a commander: a governor of a country, prefect." The word ἐπαρχία ("a prefecture, province") is thought to be derived from ἔπαρχος.
80. Salles (1996: 1173).
81. The understanding of various cities of the Phoenician coast by classical authors still needs to be further evaluated and analyzed since there exist problems of mixed identifications, as in the Homeric works. For example, the Sidonians appear to be differentiated from the Phoenicians in Homer's *Odyssey* 4:84 and *Iliad* 23:740ff. (Jones 1988: 36; 2003: 126, 306).
82. For example, see Rainey (1969: 52); Aharoni (1979: 408); Cook (1983: 41); Frye (1984: 113–14); Briant (2002: 44–45, 70–76, 84–85, 91–92.
83. We possess no direct sources that describe the relations between the Persians and the Phoenicians. For example, Briant (2002: 952) writes: "not until the start of coinage, beginning in the second half of the fifth century, and the Classical [*sic*] texts bearing on the fourth-century revolts and Alexander's conquest do we have documentation (still indirect) dealing with the nature of the relationships between the Phoenician kings and the Great King."

Chapter 2

1. Amadasi Guzzo (1995: 26–27).
2. Lemaire (1997); Elayi and Sapin (1998: 110).
3. One example is Elayi and Sapin's (1998: 86) assessment of the funerary inscription of King Eshmunazor of Sidon. They conclude that it describes "the nature of his government, the political and religious functions of the queen mother, and the expansion of the city's territory by the gift of imperial lands."
4. Dunand and Saliby (1985: 38–39, 46–47).
5. Bordreuil (1985); Puech (1986).
6. Ribichini (1999a: 307); Markoe (2000: 118).
7. For the excavations at Tell Kazel, see Bordreuil (1985: 228-29).
8. Amadasi Guzzo (2005).
9. Furthermore, the name "Bodmelqart" is a well-known theophoric name found in Phoenician inscriptions in Cyprus (Bordreuil 1985: 228). The name, however, appears frequently in other Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, e.g., CIS 5953, 6000. For the deity Melqart, see Ribichini (1999) and Amadasi Guzzo (2005).
10. Rey-Coquais (1970: 25–26, n. 4001); Bordreuil (1985: 228–29).
11. For inscriptions from Amrit, see Elayi and Elayi (1997: 127, n. 341, 146, n. 429) and Lemaire (1999: 112–13); for Tartus, see Elayi and Elayi (1997: 78, n. 138); for Arwad, see Elayi and Elayi (1997: 118, n. 298, 124, n. 328, 126, n. 338); for other areas of the northern Syro-Phoenician coast, see Elayi and Elayi (1997: 126, n. 336, 131, n. 360, 133, n. 369, 148, n. 443) and Elayi and Sapin (2000: 113 n. 31).

12. For more on these inscriptions, see Elayi and Elayi (1997: 36, n. 474); Elayi and Sayegh (1998: 153-58, n. 1–6, 288–90, n.1); Sader (1998); Lemaire (1999: 112); Elayi and Sapin (2000: 114–17); Schmitz (2002); Lemaire (2006b).
13. Byblian inscriptions evince the linguistic individuality of their city-state, as the Phoenician dialect of Byblos differs from the dialects of the cities of Tyre and Sidon, mainly in the area of lexical preferences. See Amadasi Guzzo (1995: 20).
14. The inscriptions are discussed in Cross (1978: 40). The first inscription was initially published by Dunand (1939: PL. XXXIII); the text is in Magnanini (1973: 32–33). The second inscription was published by Starcky (1969: 259–73, Pl. 1). For a general description of these two inscriptions, see Guzzo (1995: 20). Also, see Lemaire's (2003) description of a Phoenician inscription on a silver amulet containing the same designation "Šipṭi-ba'l king of Byblos" (LŠPTB'L MLK GBL).
15. Similarly, see Kaiser and Borger (1983: 585–86) and Peckham (1992: 352).
16. For this date, see Peckham (1968: 53), but cf. Guzzo (1995: 20).
17. For example, see Vance (1994a: 9–10); Kaiser and Borger (1983: 586–88); Gubel (2002: 64–6); Xella (2003: 26).
18. Mullen Jr. (1999: 139); for the Egyptian goddess Hathor, see Heerma van Voss (1999).
19. See Markoe's (2000: 117–18) objection to the equation of the Mistress of Byblos with Astarte.
20. Another curious, but largely unsubstantiated observation regarding the Batnoam inscription has been made by Azize (2005) who suggests that since the inscription does not mention the afterlife, does not contain any imprecations against potential tomb-robbers, and yet describes the lavish garb of Batnoam, it may very well reflect a certain intellectual sophistication of Achaemenid Byblos.
21. For these inscriptions, see Bordreuil and Gubel (1985: 182–83) and Gubel and Bordreuil (1985: 5–9).
22. Black *et al.* (2000: 274).
23. Stucky (1993: n. 1, 101, 57, 227–29).
24. For more on this inscription, see Peckham (1968: 71–113); Greenfield (1971: 258–59); Gibson (1982: 101–05); Avishur (2000: 111–21); Hallo (2000: 181–82); Amadasi Guzzo (2003: 45); Abou Samra (2005: 45–60).
25. For the sixth-century BCE date, see Elayi (2006b) and Stucky (2005); for the late fifth-century BCE date, see Greenfield (1971: 253–68); Lipiński (1974: 2, 55–56); Kaiser and Borger (1983: 589–90).
26. Gibson (1982: 102) states that the Egyptian sarcophagus might have been Sidon's share of the booty from that expedition and that Tabnit's time of death could have been *ca.* 500–490 BCE. See Peckham (1968: 85ff.) who places the time of Tabnit's death *ca.* 465 BCE.
27. Avishur (2000: 113, n. 8).
28. For example, see Galling (1963); Lipiński (1973); Garbini (1977); Kaiser and Borger (1983: 590-93); Kelly (1987); Xella (1992b: 16); Stern (1994a: 149); Hallo and Younger (2000: 182–83); Briant (2002: 490).
29. Elayi (2004, 2006b); Stucky (2005).
30. Peckham (1968: 87); Lemaire (1991b: 113–18).
31. Gibson (1982: 105).
32. See Sader (1997) who explores a possibility that the site of Tell el-Burak (or Rašidiyye) might have been mentioned here. Such an identification, she proposes,

"maybe relevant for the understanding of the urban settlement pattern of the Phoenician cities which seem to have developed and relied on a major coastal though continental site to compensate their insular location" (p. 372). However, the final conclusion depends on the more extensive archaeological exploration of the site.

33. It is unclear whether there were two separate temples for Astarte in Sidon or whether the same temple was dedicated to Baal and his consort Astarte-šm-Baal. For the discussion, see Gibson (1982: 110–11).
34. Gibson (1982: 108–09); Vance (1994a: 11).
35. Gibson (1982: 118–21).
36. For more on the Adon Letter, see Fitzmyer (1965); Shea (1976); Krahmalkov (1981).
37. See the discussion in Galling (1963: 140–51).
38. See an overview in Elayi (2004 and 2006b).
39. For example, see Elayi (2004: 9; 2006b: 12).
40. The Egyptian revolt of Inarus is described in Herodotus' *Histories* 3.12, 15; 7.7, Diodorus xi. 74, and Ctesias, 32.
41. See the most up-to-date list of the reigns of Phoenician kings during the Persian period in Elayi (2006: 42–3; Table 5).
42. For example, a passage in Judges 16:23 associates Dagon with the Philistines. For other connections between the Philistines and Dagon, see Healey (1999).
43. Marchese (1995); Mook and Coulson (1995); Lipiński (2004: 328).
44. Bordreuil (1990: 483–520).
45. Kaiser and Borger (1983: 593); Vance (1994a: 11–12); Zamora (2007).
46. For further discussions, see Bonnet and Xella (2002), Bordreuil (2002), and Xella and Zamora Lopez (2005).
47. Dunand (1965); Röllig (1969/70: 121–24); Mullen (1974: 25–33); Kaiser and Borger (1983: 594); Vance (1994a: 12); Abou Samra (2005: 158–61).
48. Vanel (1967: 45–95); Elayi (1989b: 46–48, 64–65).
49. The inscriptions were published by Pritchard (1988: 7–17) and discussed by Elayi (1989: 49, 66–67).
50. For example, see Koehl (1985).
51. Puech (1986: 336–39); Khalifeh (1988: 166).
52. Puech (1980).
53. Puech (1980: 303).
54. Masson and Sznycer (1972: 131–32); Delavault and Lemaire (1979: 5).
55. Dothan (1985a: 81–94; 1985b: 116–23).
56. Healey (1974).
57. Dothan (1985a: 92).
58. For a complete list of inscriptions (with bibliography), see Elayi and Sapin (2000: 118) and Lemaire (2006b).
59. de Geus (1991: 13); Markoe (2000: 71).
60. For a comprehensive overview of the inscriptions, see Elayi (2000: 123–35).
61. For example, see Egetmeyer (1999 (2000), 2000 (2001), 2001 (2002), 2003) and Elayi and Sapin (2000: 135).
62. Elayi (1988b: 11).
63. Elayi and Sayegh (1998: 154, n. 7–8, 58–59).
64. Elayi and Elayi (1997: 82–83 n. 156–59, 71, 282).

65. Stern (1987: 72).
66. Stern (1994b, 1995b: 52); Lemaire (1995: 15; 1999: 116).
67. Gubel (1993: 104) states that of all Phoenician seals, hardly 3% are inscribed. On the number of seals dated to the Persian period, see Avigad (1970) and Bordreuil (1986).
68. Sass and Uehlinger (1993: XIX).
69. Elayi and Sapin (1998: 89).
70. We should point out that there is no compelling evidence for Gubel's proposal regarding the situation in which Tyre would be responsible for collecting taxes in Sidon. One distant possibility is a very short-term rise to power of Tyre after the revolt of Tennes in the mid-fourth century BCE.
71. Gubel (1993: 126).
72. See also Bordreuil (1986: 29, 31–34) and Lemaire (1986b: no. 1).
73. Elayi (1988b: 152–53, n. 81); Elayi and Sapin (1998: 94).
74. See Schniedewind's argument (2004: 100) where he uses Millard's remarks regarding the prevalence of aniconic seals in Judah in the same period to make a point regarding a broad proliferation of literacy there starting in the eighth century BCE.
75. Magnanini (1973: 138); Gibson (1982: 148–51).
76. For more on this inscription, see Tod (1946: no. 139); Moysey (1975: 244–53); Weiskopf (1982: 458–59); Moysey (1989); Weiskopf (1989: 458–59).
77. Elayi (1987b: 52, 113); Baslez and Briquel (1989).
78. "In the Greek world, an honour that a city conferred by decree on a citizen of another city, which implied that this person, having become a proxenus, assumed in his city the defense of the interests of the city who had honoured his as well as of its citizens" (Elayi and Sapin 1998: 164).
79. For example, see Briant's (2002: 994) disagreement with Austin (1944), who suggested that Athens participated in the revolt against Artaxerxes.
80. For the Temple Tariffs A, B (KAI 37), see Masson and Sznycer (1972: 21–68); Healey (1974: 53–6); Gibson (1982: 123–31); Vance (1994b: 114); Abou Samra (2005: 193–209, 215–25, 238–39); for the Phoenician victory trophy, see Yon and Sznycer (1991: 791–823; 1992: 157–65); for the inscription from Idalion and the "SKN of Tyre" inscription, see Masson and Sznycer (1972: 69–75).
81. For an updated list of Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus (with bibliography), see Lemaire (2007).
82. Jeffery and Johnston (1990: 344, no. 47); Reyes (1994: 124).
83. Tambiah (1968, 1973); Bodel (2001: 21).
84. Rives (2001: 118) uses the term "higher culture" as applied to Greek and Roman inscriptions dealing with "portraits of great men and accounts of great events."
85. Bodel (2001: 46).
86. Wyatt (1999).
87. Lemaire and Elayi (1987).
88. Baslez and Briquel (1989: 371–86).
89. Scholars describe Phoenician as a member of the Canaanite group of the family of North-West Semitic languages, belonging to the Middle classical phase of its development (see Markoe 2000: 108).
90. Most Phoenician inscriptions from the Persian period would qualify as Bodel's "inscribed texts." Speaking of the function of such inscribed texts, he wrote:

"Conceptually, they belong to a world in which inscribed writing enacted the function of speech by imparting to inanimate objects an independent identity and a mode of discourse normally conveyed by the spoken rather than the written word" (2001: 19).

Chapter 3

1. The cities of Tripoli and Beirut will be addressed only briefly as there is very little evidence that coin-minting was undertaken at these sites.
2. Elayi and Sapin (2000: 143–46).
3. Elayi and Sapin (2000: 151).
4. Noteworthy in this regard is the work of J. Elayi, who frequently relies on her own previous studies and publications by French scholars. J. Elayi, as productive and thorough as she is, does not provide syntheses that would exhaustively reveal the nature of socio-political developments across the entirety of Phoenician city-states in the context of the Persian empire. Available overviews and studies by J. Elayi are frequently disconnected from the critically assessed data of other disciplines, such as archaeology and, most importantly, Achaemenid studies. In addition, scholars have noted J. Elayi's at times unsatisfactory chronology (e.g., see Lipiński 2004: 294, n. 134).
5. Geographical distribution of coinage found in hoards is of great importance to this study, as hoards provide much statistical, economic, and social data. This chapter will utilize studies of 75 Phoenician hoards performed by Elayi and Elayi (1993c).
6. Betlyon (1982); Elayi (1992b); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c).
7. Briant (2000); Casabonne (2000, 2004); Descat (2000).
8. Naster *et al.* (1992: 320); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 149).
9. Some coinage from Sidon and Tyre, however, was found as far as Iran and Egypt (Elayi and Lemaire 1989: 155–64).
10. Carradice and Price (1988: 22).
11. Carradice and Price (1988: 93–94); see also Vickers (1991).
12. Nau (1972: 14ff.); Alram (1996).
13. Album *et al.* (1993: 15).
14. For example, Gershevitch (1985: 616), Album *et al.* (1993).
15. For bibliography, see, Elayi, Elayi, and Bour (2007: 11, n. 2).
16. Betlyon (1982: 78); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 149); Edelman (2005: 41). Elayi (1989b), however, dates the series to *ca.* 400–375 BCE.
17. As Betlyon succinctly put it, "future discoveries may illuminate this problem [of identifying the deity] for us." For an overview of scholarly discussions regarding the identity of the "marine deity," see Betlyon (1982: 79–81). Although dated, the discussion overviewed by Betlyon is still the most thorough representation of the debate.
18. See also Elayi, Elayi, and Bour (2007).
19. Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 471–93).
20. Betlyon (1982: 78–79, n. 11, 12, 13).
21. Hill (1910: xxiii).
22. Luke (2003: 1–3).

23. See the example of Athenian coinage discussed in Martin (1985).
24. Elayi and Elayi (1986: 16); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 150).
25. Some of the Arwadian coins from this period feature the number “14” in the Sidonian style (Betlyon 1982: 87).
26. Betlyon (1982: 89); Elayi and Elayi (1990); Elayi (1992b).
27. Betlyon (1982: 87).
28. Betlyon (1982: 88, 106, n. 92); Lewis (1987); Mattingly (1987); Carradice and Price (1988: 54); Kritt (2004: 105–06); see Table 3.
29. Briant (2002: 615–30).
30. Betlyon (1982: 91–92); Elayi and Elayi (1986: 16).
31. Elayi and Elayi (1993c: 355, 86, Figures 20–21); Elayi and Sapin (2000: 147).
32. Lipiński and Salamé-Sarkis (1992: 471).
33. See the fourth century BCE date for the workshop by Elayi and Elayi (1992: 143–51).
34. For example, Betlyon (1982: 111–35); Elayi and Elayi (1986); Puech (1991); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 150–51); Sole (2000).
35. Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 150); cf. Betlyon’s (1982: 111) date of *ca.* 425–410 BCE.
36. Puech (1981, 1991: 293–96); Elayi and Lemaire (1991).
37. Betlyon (1982: 112); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 151).
38. Betlyon (1982: 115, 31, n. 39). The technique was widely used in Italy in the sixth century BCE. Betlyon cites Dr Margaret Thomson (without a bibliographic entry) who suggested that the technique might have been imported onto the Levantine mainland by Phoenician “colonists.”
39. Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 151) states that although the kings of Byblos Azbaal (Appendix A, 9/10) and Aynel are familiar from literary sources, the names of Elipaʿol and Addirmilk appear only on Byblian coinage.
40. J. Elayi (1989a: 17); Naster (1992); Elayi and Elayi (1993b).
41. See Betlyon (1982: 118, 20).
42. Betlyon (1982: 111–12).
43. See the representation of the lightning bolts of Zeus on coins of Olympia in Cook (1964: Part 1, p. 780, pl. 36, nos. 1, 4, 6, 8).
44. For association of the lion imagery with the worship of Asherah, Astarte, and Anat, see Puech (1999).
45. Root (2002: 202).
46. For example, Finkbeiner and Sader (1999).
47. For example, Elayi and Sayegh (1998: 331–43).
48. One of the most active scholars studying Sidonian coinage is J. Elayi. For example, see Elayi (1989b: 197–233) and Elayi and Elayi (2004a).
49. Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 691).
50. See Elayi and Elayi (2004: 691), who explain the emergence of Sidonian coinage by “mimétisme,” the process of cultural and economic adaptation by Sidon of the minting practices of Byblos, Tyre, and Phoenician cities in Cyprus. They cite other possible reasons: “peut-être les Sidoniens disposaient-ils aussi de plus d’argent avec l’augmentation de l’importation des trétradrachmes [*sic*] athéniens; pendant la première moitié du 5e s., ils avaient subi des échecs successifs dans les batailles navales livrés au service des Perses et devaient faire face à d’importants frais de

guerre; la valeure symbolique de la monnaie leur permettait aussi de rétablir leur image de marque, ternie par les échecs."

51. The same standing lion is featured on coins bearing the name of (the king of Sidon?) Baana (Appendix A, 19). However, the Sidonian identification of this type is disputed, as the reverse carries a unique and non-repeated image of a cow nursing a calf (Mildenberg 1987; Elayi 1989: 216, 231, n. 143). It is of interest that the image is connected with Asherah motif on the graffiti from Kuntillet Ajrud. Additionally, the suckling image appears at the court of Persepolis (PFS 83*; see Root 2002: 192–98).
52. Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 693).
53. Cf. Briant (2002:1015), who opposes such a proposal initially offered by Babelon.
54. Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 693).
55. This is the number of Sidonian coins described and analyzed in Elayi and Elayi (2004a).
56. Naster *et al.* (1992: 320).
57. Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 691).
58. For example, see Abdi (2002).
59. Root (1979, 1989, 1991, 2000); Dusinberre (2002).
60. For example, Bhabha (1994: 85–92).
61. Scott (1990: 165–72).
62. For an up-to-date overview of scholarly discussions of the chariot on Sidonian coinage, see Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 506–24) and Elayi and Elayi (2004c).
63. For example, see Root (1979); Dusinberre (2002).
64. For the identification of the person walking behind the chariot as the king of Sidon, see Betlyon (1982: 10). Schlumberger (1971) offers a critique of Seyrig (1959) and proposes that the person wearing a dentate crown on the Sidonian chariot is the Achaemenid King. See Elayi and Elayi (2004: 524) who see the chariot scene as a manifestation of an indigenous Sidonian cultural image. According to their interpretation, the person riding in the chariot is a local divinity whereas the person following the chariot is the Sidonian king.
65. Root (1979: 234–40; 1985).
66. The British Museum Darius Seal (unprovenanced) shows a hunting scene where a person wearing a tiarate crown is riding a chariot. As Garrison (1991) has pointed out, the presence of the tiarate crown on the Darius Seal is odd and the seal itself is more likely a regional variation on the Court Style (Garrison 1991: 19–20; for the seal, see Merrillees (2005: 52–53, Pl. VII: 16). Even other official administrative courtly contexts of the empire from a later period (e.g., the Dascyleion archive, seals DS 68 and DS 85; for these seals see Kaptan (2002a: 83–86) and Kaptan (2002b: Pls. 205–16, 253–56) represent hunting scenes without a clear indication that a king was riding in chariots.
67. Childs (1978: 54-56, Fig. 29).
68. For example, see Aubet (2002).
69. Garrison and Root (2001: 53–60); for Sidonian examples, see Appendix A, 16, 19.
70. Garrison and Root (2001: 41).
71. Root (1979); Garrison and Root (2001: 57).
72. For the archer image and its place in Persian imperial iconography, see Root (1989).
73. Nimchuk (2002).

74. Le Rider (1998).
75. Garrison (2000: 135).
76. See Dusinberre's discussion (2002: 165–67) of the tiarate head coinage in Anatolia. See also with the tiarate head coin from Sidon (Appendix A, 18). Dusinberre's further discussion regarding the self-presentation of the Achaemenids as divine is fascinating but only tangential to the present study.
77. See the basalt statue in the Brooklyn Museum, no. 37.353**; Bothmer (1960: 76–77, Plate 61, Figs. 151–53).
78. See the complicated image of Bes found both in the Achaemenid iconographic cache and on some Sidonian coinage; scholars note the Near Eastern, and specifically Egyptian, roots of the image. For the use of Bes in the Persian empire, see Abdi (2002). For the image of Bes on Sidonian coinage, see Elayi and Elayi (2004a: 536).
79. See Wiesehöfer (2007: 19), who states: "The Persian kings showed political foresight and flexibility not only in legal matters and political questions relating to religion; in their own interest and in the interests of the provincial populations, they adapted their authority to the royal traditions of formerly independent regions. They granted a wealth of tax privileges, concluded contracts with politically and militarily inferior neighbors, and took into account local and regional conditions when setting up and filling official posts."
80. Dusinberre (2003: 209–17).
81. Lipiński (1982: 22–33).
82. Meshorer and Qedar (1999).
83. For example, see Gitler and Tal (2006: 69).
84. Briant (2002: 714–16, 1016); Fried (2003b).
85. Betlyon (1982: 39–76); Destrooper-Georgiades (1995c: 154–55).
86. For example, see Bonnet (1988: 85–90).
87. For example, see Aubet's description of faunal remains in Tomb 8 of the Al-bass necropolis of Tyre which contain claws from a species of owl (Aubet 2006: 40). Aubet points out that the claws had been either cooked or boiled before being placed in the fire, which suggests some ritual importance of the owl in Tyrian burial practices.
88. Betlyon (1982: 41).
89. Carradice and Price (1988: Pl. 5, nos. 63, 70).
90. For example, Betlyon (1982: 39, 53–57).
91. Lewis (1987: 661).
92. Elayi and Sapin (2000) propose that the absence of Phoenician currencies abroad is explained by the fact that these currencies generated suspicion and distrust among other states; concrete evidence for this phenomenon is lacking.
93. For "the Egyptian style" of counterfeit coinage, see Nicolet-Pierre (2000).
94. Le Rider (1994–95, 1995–96, 1998).
95. Elayi and Elayi (1993c: 87–90).
96. Nunn (2000: 167, §1).
97. Caradice (1987) suggests that hoards found in Asia Minor demonstrate the existence of the uniform coinage of the Achaemenid Empire. According to his line of argument, eastern satrapies were not introduced to imperial coinage because there was no local minting there. Tuplin (1987), on the other hand, argues that throughout the Empire there existed several weight standards which were not universally enforced on the imperial level. Because of the lack of central imperial

concern for the production of coinage throughout the Empire, satrapies were free to mint their own coinage.

98. Barag (1966: 7–8); Edelman (2005: 43). Edelman opposes Elayi and Elayi's (1993c: 230) proposal that Mazaeus/Mazday took office in 354 BCE, actually *before* Tennes' rebellion.
99. For example, Mildenberg (2000) questions the existence of "satrapic coinage" whereas Elayi and Lemaire (2003: 103) propose that although there is no proof that properly "satrapic" workshops struck coinage or produced coinage with a title "satrap" (in the case of Mazaeus, his workshop produced other coinage also), they were not merely minting coinage but were transmitting power and authority.
100. Elayi and Sapin (2000: 175–78).
101. These finds are covered with bibliography in Elayi and Elayi (1993c: 87–90, 201–06, and 241–45).
102. Kagan (1994); Picard (1994). For an overview of origins and functions, as well as religious, social, and political significance of Cypriot coinage, see Destrooper-Georgiades (2004). It is of note that the author affirms absence of any unifying Achaemenid authority involved in production of coinage in Cyprus.
103. Destrooper-Georgiades (1987: 352); Elayi (1988b: 201–06, 41–45).
104. Carradice and Price (1988: 20ff).
105. See Herodotus, who described the practice of the Persian kings melting all of the coinage received: "The method adopted by the Persian kings of storing their treasure is to melt the metal and pour it into earthenware jars; the jar is then chipped off, leaving the solid metal. When money is wanted, the necessary amount is coined for the occasion" (Herodotus Histories 3.96).
106. See Aubet (2001: 138) who criticizes Polanyi by noting not only that price fluctuations took place in the ancient societies in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Levant, but also that money and its equivalents, such as weights, were used even before coinage first appeared.
107. For a parallel development in coinage production among Greek cities, see Martin (1985).
108. Elayi (1992b: 21–31).
109. Just as other scholars (e.g., Elayi 1994b: 180 and Edelman 2005: 77) have indicated, we agree that it is unclear whether the Persians were the ones who paid for the fleet and its upkeep or Sidon and Tyre provided their own ships for Persian naval operations, although the presence of robust local trade might indicate the latter scenario.
110. Hackens (1987).
111. For the distribution of Sidonian coinage, see Elayi and Elayi (1993c: 355–57, 86, Figs. 23–26).
112. Elayi (1990a: 81–82).
113. For example, see Aubet (2001: 97–143); Joffe (2002).
114. Aubet (2001: 118).
115. For example, see Stern (1987, 2001: 418–19).
116. Milevski (1996–97); Ben Zvi (1997); Carter (1999).
117. Elayi and Elayi (1993c: 398-406, Fig.1).

Chapter 4

1. Ward (1994: 66; 1997: 314).
2. Gras *et al.* (1991); Ward (1997: 313); Bondì (1999); Uberti (1999); Herrmann (2000).
3. Bikai (1978b: 1).
4. For example, Killebrew (2005: 9, 18). She writes: "it is sometimes possible that under certain conditions, such as economic or political stress, ethnic boundaries are established and more clearly visible in the material culture than in other circumstances."
5. See Gilboa and Sharon (2003).
6. Stern (2001: 101).
7. For an overview of past proposals, see Schreiber (2003: xxii–xxix).
8. Stern (2001: 101).
9. Bikai (1978a, 1978b: 75); Culican (1982a).
10. Stern (2001: 101).
11. Gjerstad (1948: 288, 314, 435.)
12. For example., see Bieber (1978); Bikai (1987); Brodie and Steel (1996: 274–75); Gilboa and Sharon (2003); Schreiber (2003).
13. See Culican (1982b).
14. For example, see Dever (1997).
15. For the eighth century date, see Schreiber (2003: 309).
16. Dever (1997: 465).
17. Bichrome and red-slip ware were found in abundance in several well-stratified Iron-Age layers at the cemetery sites of Khirbet Silm, Joya, Qyayé, and Qasmieh in southern Lebanon (Chapman 1972).
18. Chapman (1972: 55–194).
19. It should be noted that such connections need to be complemented by other kinds of artifacts traditionally associated with Phoenicians in order to increase the likelihood of just such a connection.
20. Dever (1997: 466); Stern (2001: 517–18).
21. For example, Dor; see Stern (2001: 508–09).
22. Coldstream (1998); Wenning (2000).
23. See also Elayi and Haykal (1996: 24–28, Figs. 5–9).
24. Bondì (1999: 311).
25. See Shiloh (1979); Herzog (1997: 362).
26. Herzog (1997: 362).
27. Wright (1985: 426); Wright (1997).
28. For example, see Dunand and Duru (1962: 29-34) and Yon (1995a: 120, 26) for the Persian provenance of these techniques.
29. Boardman (1994: 54–58).
30. Gras *et al.* (1991: 127).
31. Ward (1997: 316)
32. Gras *et al.* (1991: 127). Such distanced placement of the remains complicates interpretation of the burials, since correspondence of a particular cemetery with a settlement is not always clear, but shared material-cultural elements can facilitate it.
33. Elayi and Elayi (1999: 11).

34. Elayi and Elayi (1999: 13).
35. Moscati (1999: 355).
36. Moscati (1999: 356).
37. Killebrew (2005: 94).
38. Bikai (1987); Gilboa (1998).
39. Aubet (2001).
40. Niemeyer (2000: 92).
41. Joffe (2002: 431).
42. Mazzoni (1995).
43. Zadok (1991).
44. Joffe (2002: 434).
45. For example, see Liverani (1987); Bikai (1992); Niemeyer (2000: 92).
46. Brody (2002: 75).
47. Sader (1992); Mazar (1994: 41–44); Markoe (2000: 71); Gilboa (2001); Brody (2002: 75).
48. For example, see Gilboa and Sharon (2003: 55, Table 21).
49. See also Liverani (2003); Bell (2005: 231).
50. Similarly, see Sherratt and Sherratt (2001).
51. Bell (2005: 232).
52. Stieglitz (1990); Sherratt (2003); Bell (2005: 233).
53. Bell (2005: 236).
54. Bikai (1978b: 12); Anderson (1988: 396–97); Khalifeh (1988: 125); Brody (2002: 75–76). The same process of emerging monumental buildings can be observed for ninth century BCE sites in Israel, where architecture shows the development which Finkelstein (2000, 2002, 2007) associates with the Omride expansion.
55. Holladay (1997: 109).
56. Raban (1998: 430–34); (Markoe 2000: 70).
57. Bikai (1978b: Pl. 64); Niemeyer (2000: 94).
58. Joffe (2002).
59. Markoe (2000: 41).
60. See also an analysis in Briquel-Chatonnet (1992: 141–226).
61. Lessing (2004: 186–87).
62. Lipiński 2004:17-36.
63. Markoe (2000: 48); Vanderhooft (2003); cf. Corral (2002: 86).
64. Rainey (1969: 52); Garelli and Nikiprowetzky (1974: 157–59); Aharoni (1979: 408); Cook (1983: 41); Frye (1984: 113–14); Hoglund (1992: 5); Briant (2002: 44–45, 70–76, 884–85, 91–92).
65. For example, Lipschits (2006: 24–25, n. 16). In his earlier work on Babylonian Judah (2005: 192), Lipschits states: "The central thesis is that the characteristics of the well-known pottery assemblages dating from the end of the Iron Age and from the Persian period exhibit continuity and that, therefore, these patterns document an unbroken material cultural tradition in Judah from the end of the seventh century BCE. to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE."
66. Stern (2001: 379–407); Lipschits (2006: 27).
67. For example, Tal (2000: 121, 25, Fig. 3).
68. Edelman (2006: 239).
69. For example, see Elayi (1988b).
70. de Geus (1991: 13); Markoe (2000: 71).

71. The model has been criticized for the oversimplification of socio-political processes where the king is always on top of political hierarchies, the artificial fitting of the occasionally unclear archaeological evidence into the a priori formulated theoretical framework, and ignoring the fact that trade existed outside of the palace (Fleming 2002: 79; Monroe 2000: 186; Bell, 2005: 47–48).
72. Gras *et al.* (1991); Golani (1996); Berlin (2002).
73. We should make a note here that the precise information concerning the location of find spots for imported and local goods is lacking in many instances and, therefore, we have to make our observations based on the totality of finds at Phoenician settlements.
74. Markoe (2000: 87); Lehmann (2001: 66–67).
75. For example, see Bondì (2004).
76. Markoe (2000: 68–69).
77. For example, see Markoe (2000: 10).
78. For example, see Liverani (2005: 272–74).
79. For example, see Markoe (2000: 96); Monroe (2000: 297–339).

Chapter 5

1. This chapter is a revised version of an article first published in *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 21.1 (2007): 73–105.
2. Some scattered references to Phoenicia are found in Obad. 20; 2 Macc. 3.5, 3.8, 4.4, 4.22, 8.8, 10.11; 1 Esd. 2.17, 2.24-27, 4.48, 6.3-7, 6.27-29, 7.1, 8.19, 8.23, 8.67; 3 Macc. 3.15; and 4 Macc. 4.2.
3. For an overview of different schools of thought regarding history writing of ancient Israel, with an explication of groups unfortunately, but predictably labeled "minimalist" and "non-minimalist," see Moore (2006). See also Uehlinger (2005: 282–86) who provided a helpful synthesis of various historiographic approaches and raised important questions as to what sources can be considered primary, secondary, etc. in writing history in general, and of Israel in particular. Another noteworthy study was done by Banks (2006), where by evaluating history-writing approaches of Wellhausen, Noth, Bright, and Thompson, she deals with the questions of historiographical traditions in Europe and the United States, audience of historical works and the zeitgeist in which they appeared, and ideology in approaching biblical texts.
4. See Berquist (2007) who states what he regards as a consensus opinion of the biblical scholarship: "The exilic period produced little of the literature that became the Hebrew Bible, but much of the literature may have been assembled in a relatively short period of time in the fifth century" (p. 3). Schmid (2007a: 237–38), on the other hand, begins his article with the following assertion: "One of the most important literary developments in the formation of the Hebrew Bible that probably took place in the fourth century is the formation of the Torah. This dating is based on quite a broad consensus."
5. Davies (1992: 94–112); Carter (1999: 201–02).
6. For a somewhat similar approach, see Noël (2005), who explores a possibility that Solomon's expansion mentioned in 1 Kgs 5:1 is reflection of a later, Persian-period administrative setup.

7. Bedford (2001); Grabbe (2001b: 322–23).
8. Frei and Koch (1984); Ahlström (1993); Berquist (1995); Frei (2001); see a discussion of the theory of "Persian imperial authorization" and the problems of interpretation of the theory itself in Schmid (2007b).
9. Elayi and Sapin (1998: 104).
10. See Nielsen (1997: 164); Wesselius (1999: 24–77).
11. Zlotnick-Sivan (2004: 191).
12. For example, Mendels (1987); Xella (1995); Katzenstein (1997); Mazar (1997); Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami (1998); Dever (1999).
13. For the Tennes revolt and its effects on Palestine, see an influential article by Barag (1966). See also Grabbe (2007: 129–32) who discusses both the Tennes rebellion and Barag's article.
14. For example, see Wright (2007: 346–47) who places the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the mid-Hellenistic time period: "in telling the history of Judah's successful relations with the Achaemenid Empire, the authors of EN [Ezra and Nehemiah] illustrate the correct manner of interacting with the empires that succeeded the Achaemenids. That the composition of EN culminated in the mid-Hellenistic period – not in the fourth century, as commonly thought – would agree with the archaeological evidence for the reconstruction of Jerusalem, according to which the city was hardly occupied during the fourth century but underwent major expansions beginning in the third century."
15. Knoppers (2003: 103).
16. For a discussion of the issue of dependence or independence of the Chronicler on other biblical materials, the books of Samuel and Kings in particular, see Knoppers (2003: 66–71).
17. Klein (1992); Hoglund (1997: 21); Trontveit (2000: 312).
18. Williamson (1982: 21); Xella (1995: 66).
19. Johnstone (1997: 176).
20. The spelling of the Tyrian king in 1 Chr. 14:1 has several variants. The Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate versions follow the spelling Ḥiram found in 4QSama 2 Sam. 5:11.
21. Johnstone (1997: 306).
22. This verse in Chronicles is reminiscent of the passage in Gen. 10:15, 19. Both verses belong to the *Table of Nations*, which is usually dated to the Persian period, since it evinces both Mesopotamian and Mediterranean historiographic traditions, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* in particular (Van Seters 1992: 118, 332; for the *Catalogue of Women*, see Hunter 2005). Liverani (2005: 240–42) dates the *Table of Nations* to the sixth century, noting that an interest in genealogies was a common feature of the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world of that era, as various peoples sought to connect their present with the mythical past.
23. Grainger (1991: 5–51).
24. Japhet (2006: 493–94).
25. See, e.g., Blenkinsopp (1988: 47–54).
26. For example, Japhet (1968); Grabbe (1992: I, 31; 1998: 93).
27. Grabbe (1998: 93–122).
28. For a recent historical reexamination of the book of Nehemiah, see Edelman (2005). She dates the events in Nehemiah to the reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 BCE), as opposed to Darius I (521–485 BCE), as it has been traditionally done. In

light of her new dating of the events in Nehemiah, the rebuilding of the Temple initiated by Zerubbabel, an agent of Artaxerxes I, becomes "part of a larger Persian policy that established a network of *birot*, guard stations, inns, and caravanserai along the major road systems of the empire, to facilitate trade, imperial communication, and military mobility" (Edelman 2005: 9).

29. Edelman (2006: 228–29).
30. For a discussion of this hypothesis, see Edelman (2006: 233).
31. Bloch-Smith (1992: 136; 2002: 123); Ussishkin (1993: 331); Lipiński (2004: 508).
32. Hiebert (1992: 873–74); Barton (2001).
33. Crenshaw (1995: 21–29, esp. p.23 n. 21).
34. Stern (2001:407); see also Appendix B XI.5.
35. For example, Stern (2001: 407) cites Stager with an unclear bibliographic entry (*Ashkelon III*: 108–09): "The predominance of Phoenician Material Culture [*sic*] at Ashkelon in the Persian period is evident from the Phoenician inscriptions found: several ostraca bearing Phoenician personal names, and an East Greek Bowl incised in Phoenician script with 'gm, or 'cakes.' Again, religious insignia, the sign of Tanit in the form of three bronze and two bone pendants attests to the presence of her cult here."
36. Elayi (1980, 1982, 1987); Peckham (1992).
37. While making these observations, we do not rule out that this simultaneous reference in Joel, as well as in other texts, is a later, late-Persian or Hellenistic, emendation of an earlier text.
38. Floyd (2000: 303).
39. For example, Grabbe (1992: I, 44); Meyers *et al.* (1992: 1061, 65–66); Floyd (2000: 314–15, 463–64). See also Kessler (2007) who understands the preceding Chapters 1–8 in the context the region's social and political structure of the Achaemenid period.
40. Sweeney (1996: 46).
41. Sweeney (1996: 52–55).
42. For a bibliography and overview of the proposals, see Sweeney (1996: 307).
43. Lundbom (1999: 96).
44. Otto (2007), on theological and literary grounds, places Jeremiah in the Persian period as well. For example, he writes about the portion of Jeremiah under our examination: "Jer. 26:3-4 formulates the central theme of Jeremiah's theology in a postexilic perspective, employing words of the Priestly Torah in its postexilic shape" (p. 181).
45. The order in which the texts are discussed follows the arrangement of the books in the *New Oxford Annotated Bible (3rd Edition)* (Coogan *et al.* 2001).
46. Anderson and Fischer (1992: 443); Himmelfarb (1998); Williams (2003: 70–71, 73–74).
47. For the situation in Phoenicia in the Hellenistic period, see Grainger (1991: 5–51).
48. Goodman (1992: 610); Talshir (1999, 2001).
49. Cousland (2003).
50. DeSilva (1998).
51. See Herodotus and other Greek writers who had resorted to this designation long before Jewish writers did.
52. Otzen (2002).

53. For an overview of historical inaccuracies and other problems in Judith, see Moore (1992).
54. Auld (1994, 1996, 1999); Ho (1995, 1999).
55. Williamson (1987); Japhet (1994); Eskenazi (2006: 509); Japhet (2006).
56. For example, Grabbe (1998); Williamson (2004).
57. West (1985); Van Seters (1988); Grabbe (2001); Lemche (2001a, 2001b). For a sample of discussions regarding historical value of the DtrH and its date, see Römer (2000).
58. Among possible locations of Ophir are Africa or some land on the Arabian peninsula. For a discussion and bibliography, see Cogan (2000: 306–07).
59. Cogan (2000: 319–20).
60. Smith (1992: 269); Kinet (1997: 875–79); Tubb (1998: 13–24).
61. Stern (2006: 201). We should note here that, according to Stern, not a single cultic figurine has yet been found "in the areas of the country inhabited by the Jews during the Persian period." For the eastern group figurines, see Stern (2001: 492–500).
62. For example, Mazar (1997); Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami (1998); Dever (1999).
63. Finkelstein (1996, 1998, 1999, 2002); Lehmann (2001); Liverani (2005).
64. Lehmann (2001: 92).
65. Stern (2001: 373–85); see also Appendix B X.1-4.
66. Lehmann (2001: 97).
67. Niemann (1997); Lehmann (2001: 97).
68. Ussishkin (1993: 331); Lipiński (2004: 508).
69. Further, see Willoughby (1992: 207).
70. For example, Fischer (2002: 49).
71. For example, Howie (1950); Forher (1952); Rüger (1961: 48, 50); Corral (2002: 1).
72. For example, Wellhausen (1899); Kaufmann (1972); Kohn (2002).
73 Rofé (1999); Van Seters (1999).
74. For example, Davies (2000).
75. Boadt (1992: 713); Redford (1992: 465–66); Vanderhooft (1999: 100–02); Corral (2002: 57–61, 173); Lipschits (2006: 23).
76. Lipschits (2005: 55–62).
77. Liverani (2005: 170).
78. See Liverani (1991: 67, Fig. 1).
79. For example, see Markoe (2000: 170–89); Aubet (2001: 212–304).
80. Cf. Liverani (1991: 67–68, n. 9).
81. Block (1998: 121–22); Corral (2002: 57, 170, n. 2).
82. For an overview of current scholarly views on intertextuality of Persian-period literary sources, see Bautch (2007).

Chapter 6

1. For a similar conclusion, see Lipschits (2006).
2. Some outstanding examples to the contrary should be noted here, i.e., Herodotus' treatment of women (e.g., his depiction of the victorious and admirable Queen Tomyra) and Euripides' *Medea*.
3. Harris (1989: 4).

4. Harris (1989: 26–27).
5. Harris (1989: 22).
6. Carr (2004b).
7. Harris (1989: 139ff).
8. See Berlin (1997).
9. Lipschits (2006: 27).
10. Diodorus Book XVI.41.
11. E.g., Lipschits (2006: 24–25).
12. Vanderhooft (1999).
13. Betlyon (1982: 42ff.); Bondì (1999); Moscati (1999).
14. Hoglund (1992: 21).
15. Following Cogan and Tadmor (1988: 327), who based their research on Neo-Babylonian inscriptions and seals, Vanderhooft maintains that Yehud did not become a Neo-Babylonian province after the fall of Jerusalem in spite of the biblical account regarding the role of Gedaliah, a Judean functionary and a Babylonian appointee (2 Kgs 25: 22–26; Jer. 40: 7–41: 18).
16. Stern (2001: 308, 12–31).
17. Olmstead (1948: 237, n. 23); Lipschits (2006: 25).
18. Thucydides' *History* 1.104; see Briant (2002: 573–77).
19. Dandamaev and Lukonin (1989); Dandamaev (1994, 1999); Knoppers (2001); see synopsis in Fried (2004: 4–6).
20. For example, see Frei (2001).
21. Eisenstadt (1963).
22. Elayi (1980: 25, 1982); Stern (1995a: 433).
23. Edelman (2006: 237); Lipschits (2006: 27).
24. Dusinberre (2003: 210ff).
25. For example, see Carr (2004a); Hoppe (2005).
26. Although Briquel-Chatonnet's work (1992) does address these relations, the framework that she uses for the first half of the first millennium BCE is based to a great extent on the Hebrew Bible, whereas the Persian period is barely mentioned at all. We propose that the Persian period was one of the central periods of cooperation between Tyre and Jerusalem.

Appendix B

1. Lund (1993).
2. Lund (1990); Elayi (2000).
3. Luke (2003: 4).
4. Woolley (1938).
5. Luke (2003: 1–3).
6. Woolley (1938: 1–30); Elayi (1987a).
7. Elayi (1987a: 261–63).–
8. For example, Luke 2003: 28–29.
9. What follows is a synthesis based on Sartre (1989), Gubel (1990b), and Lund (1990, 1993).
10. Elayi (1982: 89, 105); Lund (1990: 29); Elayi and Elayi (1999).
11. Riis (1970: 126ff).

12. Ehrich (1939: 86); Chapman (1972: 173); Lund (1990: 19–26).
13. Yon and Caubet (1993: 47–67).
14. Elayi (2000); Markoe (2000: 205–06).
15. Elayi (2000).
16. Elayi and Haykal (1996); Elayi and Elayi (1999).
17. Elayi and Elayi (1999).
18. Elayi and Elayi (1999: 13).
19. Dunand and Saliby (1985); Saliby (1989: 22–24).
20. For example, Dunand and Saliby consider it a Persian sanctuary in the style of the *Apadana* at Persepolis, whereas A. Elayi and J. Elayi regard it as a Phoenician temple of the sixth century BCE (Elayi and Elayi 1999: 11). Scholars also suggest that the temple of Ma'abed exhibits strong Egyptian connections through its architecture (monumental burials of the "méghazil" type), various male heads, busts with lion-skins, and close-fitting tunics dating to the Achaemenid period (Elayi and Haykal 1996: 24–28, Figs. 5–9; Bondì 1999: 321).
21. Markoe (2000: 205).
22. Currid (1986).
23. Gubel (1990b).
24. For example, see Buhl (1983: 14–15, n. 47, Fig. 14).
25. Gubel (1990b: 40–46).
26. Gubel (1990b: 46).
27. See Thalmann (1991); Markoe (2000: 204); Aubet (2001: 61–62).
28. Markoe (2000: 204).
29. Elayi (1990d); Markoe (2000: 203).
30. For example, see Diodorus Book XXVI.41.
31. Stern (2001: 387); Lipiński (2004: 284–87).
32. Dunand (1968); Markoe (2000: 202–03).
33. Ciasca (1999: 173).
34. Ciasca (1999: 174).
35. For Iranian architecture, see Stronach (2001).
36. For example, see Markoe (2000: 203).
37. Markoe (2000: 81, 201).
38. Badre (1997: 48–50, 60–64, 76–80, 88–90, Figs. 31a, 40a); Markoe (2000: 81).
39. Badre (1997); Elayi and Sayegh (1998: 321–43).
40. Saidah (1966: 57, 66, 69); Chapman (1972: 173–74).
41. For a review of recent archaeological work performed at Sidon and in its vicinity, see Brient and Sapin (2006: 166–68. Mariner *et al.* (2006: 1514), in their overview of geoarchaeology of Sidonian harbors, accentuate the destruction of Iron-Age and Persian-period layers: "Although localised sediments evoke developed port infrastructure during the Phoenician and Persian periods, high-resolution reconstruction of the northern harbour's Iron Age history is problematic given repeated dredging practices during the Roman and Byzantine periods."
42. Lipiński (1995a: 1322).
43. Chapman (1972: 174).
44. Lipiński (1995a: 1322).
45. Yon (1989 [1990]: 178–86, Pl. VII).
46. Elayi (1988a).
47. Yon and Caubet (1993: 61); Moscati (1999: 356).

48. Diodorus Book XVII.46. Quintus Curtius, a first-century Roman historian of the life of Alexander, states that Alexander gave Abdalonymus "a territory adjacent to the city" (IV.1.25), a gesture which some scholars interpret as a sign of restoration to the Sidonian King of the land grant that had been given to Eshmunazor and later confiscated. We see no archaeological evidence of such actions on the part of the Great King. See a concise summary of the discussion (with bibliography) in Briant (2002: 1015).
49. See Kleeman (1958); Gabelmann (1979).
50. Briant (2002): 983.
51. The temple is identified thusly based on the inscription of Eshmunazor (cf. Betlyon 1985: 53; Stucky 1993: 9–25; Lipiński 1995a: 1322; Stucky 2005).
52. Ciasca (1999: 177).
53. "The first hostile act was the cutting down and destroying of the royal park in which the Persian Kings were wont to take their recreation; the second was the burning of the fodder for the horses which had been stored up by the satraps for the war; last of all they arrested such Persians as had committed the acts of insolence and wreaked vengeance upon them" (Diodorus Book XVI.41.5). For such a view, see Clermont-Ganneau (1921). More recently, see Yon and Cabet (1993). The findings from the site are described in Clermont-Ganneau (1921: 276–77, Pls. XLIII–XLIV); Saidah (1969: 122–24).
54. Lipiński (2004: 294).
55. Yon (1995a: 120).
56. Pritchard (1975: 3).
57. Stern (1977); Katzenstein (1979); Khalifeh (1988: 164).
58. Pritchard (1978: 131–48).
59. Koehl (1985).
60. Yon (1995a: 125).
61. Bikai (1978b).
62. For example, see the geoarchaeological analysis of Tyre's northern harbor that may open new avenues for investigation, in Marriner *et al.* (2005). They write: "The nature of Tyre's landscape evolution offers a unique opportunity for maritime archaeology. Given the outstanding preservation properties of the fine-grained sedimentary context, coupled with the presence of the water table, scope for future archaeological work in this Levantine harbour is exceptional. Fine-grained sediment means the heart of the Bronze Age, Phoenician, Greek, Roman and Byzantine ports could be excavated on land, in much the same way as a classic terrestrial dig" (p. 1326).
63. Yon (1995b: 102–03).
64. Renan (1864: 8).
65. Dunand and Duru (1962).
66. Dunand and Duru (1962: 29–34); Yon (1995a: 120, 26).
67. Stern (2001: 373–85).
68. Lehmann (2001).
69. Dothan (1982); Singer (1994).
70. See the tenth century BCE date proposed by Lehmann (2001), who sees Tyre extending its influence to the region of western Galilee and the Akko Plain at this time.
71. For example, see Raban (1991: 25); Lehmann (2001: 89).

72. Stern (2001: 36–39).
73. Lehmann (2001: 95); Stern (2001: 373).
74. Stern (1982: 241).
75. Elayi and Elayi (1993c: 398–406, Fig. 1).
76. Herbert and Berlin (2003: 47).
77. Cross (2002); Dayagi-Mendels (2002).
78. Dayagi-Mendels (2002: 163).
79. Markoe (2000: 193).
80. Stern (2001: 383).
81. A proximity of Tell Keisan to Tyre is the primary reason why the site has been identified as a Tyrian enclave. For example, see Schreiber (2003: 194).
82. Markoe (2000: 194); Stern (2001: 383).
83. For these proposals, see Stern (2001: 8).
84. Schreiber (2003: 195).
85. Stern (2001: 387).
86. Balensi and Herrera (1985); Gilboa (1989).
87. Stern (2001: 384).
88. Chapman (1972: 174).
89. Markoe (2000: 192).
90. See Chapman (1972: 173); Bondì (1999: 321); Ciasca (1999: 184).
91. Stern (2001: 393). We should note here that since these artifacts were found in ship remains in the harbor, they do not unequivocally prove that Phoenicians occupied the site. There is no reason, however, to doubt Atlit's involvement in maritime trade.
92. Gras *et al.* (1991); Dayagi-Mendels (2002: 163).
93. Stern (1990, 1991); Stern *et al.* (1995); Sharon and Gilboa (1997); Gilboa (1999, 2001).
94. Stern (1990: 31).
95. Mazar (1985:126–27).
96. Stern (1997).
97. Stern (1990: 32).
98. Bloch-Smith (2003).
99. Stern (2001: 395).
100. Stern (1997: 138; 2001: 393–400).
101. Stern (2001: 407).
102. Stern (2001: 408–11, 19).
103. Lipiński (2004: 331–33).
104. Katzenstein (1989); Stern (2001: 412–16).
105. Dupont-Sommer (1974); Gjerstad (1979); Markoe (1985: 7).
106. Bikai (1989: 203).
107. Harden (1971: 57ff.); Chapman (1972: 177).
108. See also parallels between the royal tombs of Tamassos, Kition, Golgoi, and Trapeza and Phoenician architecture of the ninth-seventh centuries BCE. Lipiński regards the presence of these connections as evidence of cultural, commercial, and religious exchange rather than of Phoenician colonization of the island (1992b: 72). Markoe (1985), who makes a case for the Phoenician origin of a number of metal objects found in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, prefers to speak of an "independent school of Phoenician artisans operating on Cyprus."

109. Bikai (1989: 209).
110. Callot (1997: 71); Pedersén (1998: 234).
111. Raptou (1999: 119).
112. Raptou (1999: 120–21. Among Greek architectural elements at Paradisotissa Raptou cites “la presence d’un antefixe en terre cuite estampé d’une palmette.”

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